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# GOVERNMENT

UPON

## FIRST PRINCIPLES,

Probed and Illustrated Analogically.

BY JOHN GROSSMITH.

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Injustice and Crime among Rulers of Nations beget injustice and crime everywhere.—p. 358.

"If I have done anything for Society, I have done it really for my own advantage."

*Marcus Aurelius.*

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LONDON:  
PIPER, STEPHENSON, & SPENCE, PATERNOSTER ROW ;  
JUDD AND GLASS, NEW BRIDGE STREET,  
AND GRAY'S INN ROAD.

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# ERRATA.

- Page 3, line 3, *for* "associations," *read* "ideas."
- " 4, " 28, *for* "the First Principles' present franchise," *read*  
     " First Principles with the present franchise."
- " 134, " 7, *for* "things, truth," *read* "things, *pure* truth."
- " 158, " 2, *for* "though calls," *read* "though *he* calls."
- " 214, " 29, *for* "But because," *read* "Because."
- " 225, " 1, *for* "Buddhists beginning," *read* "Buddhists *are*  
     beginning."
- " 226, " 15, *for* "for after the," *read* "after mentioning the."
- " 267, " 15, *for* "twelve kings," *read* "sixteen kings."
- " 296, " 17, *for* "representative his will," *read* "representative will."
- " 305, " 8, *for* "every," *read* "ever."
- " 337, " 34, *for* "pays," *read* "paid."
- " 386, " 8, *for* "Acrion," *read* "Anacreon."





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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION .. .. .	1
CHAPTER I.	
The Elementary Law operating upon the Soul .. .. .	7
CHAPTER II.	
The three Essential Qualities of Life .. .. .	8
CHAPTER III.	
Geology illustrates the Analogical Law .. .. .	11
CHAPTER IV.	
Raise up a better Principle to repress a Worse .. .. .	14
CHAPTER V.	
In Nature, Creation was Progression .. .. .	15
CHAPTER VI.	
The Nebular Theory .. .. .	18
CHAPTER VII.	
Swedenborg's Inquiries into the first Manifestations of Divine creating Energy .. .. .	19
CHAPTER VIII.	
The Oolitic Strata and Man .. .. .	20
CHAPTER IX.	
Spirit not only analogous, but is motive Power .. .. .	21
CHAPTER X.	
Geometry .. .. .	24
CHAPTER XI.	
The Will more important than the Intellect .. .. .	26
CHAPTER XII.	
Does Spirit-rapping prove the Certainty of Spirit distinct and discrete from Matter? or does it prove that Matter in Continuity exists after this Life? .. .. .	27

	PAGE
CHAPTER XIII.	
First, what is Causality ? .. .. .	30
CHAPTER XIV.	
Equals illustrated by Euclid .. .. .	34
CHAPTER XV.	
Injustice to Others is Injustice to Ourselves .. .. .	36
CHAPTER XVI.	
The Elementary Constituent .. .. .	37
CHAPTER XVII.	
Metallurgy .. .. .	38
CHAPTER XVIII.	
First Principles illustrated by the Analogy of Metallurgy .. .. .	39
CHAPTER XIX.	
The Nature of Metaloids analogous to Man in Nature .. .. .	41
CHAPTER XX.	
The Process of purifying a low Metal, such as Iron, is analogous to the Means necessary in purifying Man in his low Condition, viz.—in uncultivated Nature .. .. .	43
CHAPTER XXI.	
This illustrates how far Man can be governed by First Principles .. .. .	46
CHAPTER XXII.	
Because a Corrective is necessary, are First Principles not necessary ? .. .. .	48
CHAPTER XXIII.	
The Elemental, distinct in Degree from the Physical and Functional .. .. .	50
CHAPTER XXIV.	
Supreme Benevolence interferes even with the Laws of Nature, as seen in Gravitation .. .. .	52
CHAPTER XXV.	
The Elementary Good and True seen in all Ages, in various Aspects, varying according to Intelligence .. .. .	53
CHAPTER XXVI.	
Re-formation and Regeneration illustrated by Chemistry, which first expels the Spurious, then combines .. .. .	55
CHAPTER XXVII.	
Man comprises in Himself the Aggregate of all Creation, and his higher Characteristics illustrate First Principles ; his lower Characteristics illustrate present Perversions .. .. .	58



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

The inner Spirit, or supernal World, the primary Cause of the outward Worlds of Matter .. .. .	61
--	----

## CHAPTER XXIX.

Analogy of the Mind and the Body in their Appropriations, Productions, and Reproductions .. .. .	63
--	----

## CHAPTER XXX.

Happiness consists in its Relation, positive or negative, to the Perfect. To do good, not an arbitrary Command, but a Privilege by which our best Interests are promoted ... ..	65
---	----

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Man's Regards should be universally Important, not Self-important ..	69
--	----

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Pride the perverting Medium in all Men and in all Ages .. ..	73
--	----

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

It is a Law of First Principles, that He who makes Others most happy, is by the very Act Himself made most happy .. ..	76
--	----

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Free Will of Man the paramount Object in Creation .. ..	79
---	----

## CHAPTER XXXV.

The Creator regarded eternal not temporary Objects in Creation, because Time must subserve Eternity .. ..	83
---	----

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

Mohammed a better Admonisher than our Episcopacy .. ..	88
--	----

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

On the Protestant State Church .. ..	89
--------------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Mohammed's Laws and Maxims considered .. ..	96
---	----

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Mohammed's Tradition of Ten Sorts of wicked Men bearing discretoary Marks .. ..	100
---	-----

## CHAPTER XL.

A Comparison between Moslems and Britons .. ..	101
--	-----

## CHAPTER XLI.

The Analogy in the gradual Process of Regeneration in Man, to the slow Operation of exalting the Valleys and making the Hills low, the crooked Places straight, and the rough Places plain .. ..	103
--	-----

	PAGE
CHAPTER XLII.	
All Things in Creation are analogous to Spirit, or Causality, because all Creation has its Causality in Spirit .. .. .	105
CHAPTER XLIII.	
The Elementary Vital, or, in modern vernacular, Spiritual World, is the World of Causes, and the Natural is the World of Effects in Health and sanitary Conditions, as it is also in Conditions of Unsoundness and Disease .. .. .	108
CHAPTER XLIV.	
The percipient Knowledge of the Elementary Law among the Ancients. Pherecides remarks: "Men will be judged not by the incense . . . but by the virtues they shall have practised." .. .. .	115
CHAPTER XLV.	
Love and Wisdom the Elementary Causality of all Creation .. .. .	116
CHAPTER XLVI.	
Testimonies from Ancient Philosophers to the Truth of First Principles; which are also in remarkable Harmony with the Doctrines and Philosophy of Swedenborg .. .. .	119
CHAPTER XLVII.	
Let the True and the Just have the ascendant, practically carried out in Purity of Purpose .. .. .	131
CHAPTER XLVIII.	
Are Men in this Age receding from Truth, or acceding to it? .. .. .	134
CHAPTER XLIX.	
The Good and the Pure, the Generous and the Wise, are to be found both in ancient and modern Times. At all Times the Spirit of First Principles went forth to make and perfect the Earth .. .. .	146
CHAPTER L.	
Purity is Conservatism .. .. .	151
CHAPTER LI.	
Temporary Triumph of the Good and Glorious in 1790. Their Reliance upon Human Aid alone .. .. .	157
CHAPTER LII.	
Error of Judgment common among the Influential of the World .. .. .	162
CHAPTER LIII.	
The Repugnance at this Day to cultivate the Heart.. .. .	165
CHAPTER LIV.	
The Error of recognizing the Priority of Vicious Power instead of that of Virtuous Intelligence .. .. .	168

## CHAPTER LV.

The Fashion of the Day giving a wrong Bias to the Formation of Character..	..	..	..	..	..	..	172
--	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----

## CHAPTER LVI.

According to our co-ordinate Appropriations of the Good and the True, or the Virtuous and the Wise, do we personate the Beautiful.—The Stoic Philosophy considered ..	..	..	..	..	..	176
---	----	----	----	----	----	-----

## CHAPTER LVII.

The Cause of Bad Laws traced to its Source—Man preferring Human Wisdom to the Divine, the Life of Light ..	..	..	..	178
--	----	----	----	-----

## CHAPTER LVIII.

The true Spirit of Legislation is to be discovered in the Roman Agrarian Law ..	..	..	..	..	..	181
---	----	----	----	----	----	-----

## CHAPTER LIX.

It is no longer Industry, nor Virtue, nor Frugality alone, that acquires Place and Wealth; but the cunning and extravagant Rogue finds the ready <i>entrée</i> into Place, Power, and Wealth ..	..	184
---	----	-----

## CHAPTER LX.

Cato knew well that Money was not a Measurement of Virtue, nor of Greatness of Character. The Votaries of Wealth were more discouraged two thousand years ago than now ..	..	186
---	----	-----

## CHAPTER LXI.

Bishops wink at Crime among the Rich, but pour down Vengeance for Crime among the Poor ..	..	189
---	----	-----

## CHAPTER LXII.

The Poor only necessary to a State until they become educated ..	191
--	-----

## CHAPTER LXIII.

The Happiness of the Many should ever be the ennobling Aspiration of the Affluent.—Seek Power only to do Good to your Country and the World ..	..	195
--	----	-----

## CHAPTER LXIV.

Governments not based upon Christian Principles.—Their Primary Origin traced ..	..	197
---	----	-----

## CHAPTER LXV.

Man's Love of Dominion is worse than the Animal's love of Prey ..	202
---	-----

## CHAPTER LXVI.

Creation's Perfections are to be seen in Nature's Beauties, where Use and Elegance combine. Nature, not only analogically, but in its own Properties, proceeds from the Divine Operations ..	205
--	-----



	PAGE
CHAPTER LXVII.	
Attractive Industry as a Means to Activity preferable to Industry super- induced by Emulation.—The Love of Pride destroys the Man while inducing him to be active.—Render Occupations pleasurable because attractive, and instead of destroying, we build up .. ...	207
CHAPTER LXVIII.	
Epicureanism further considered.—Its abuse by Julius Cæsar .. ..	208
CHAPTER LXIX.	
The Standard of Power—its Patriarchal Origin.—The Sentiments of Locke and Hooker .. .. .	210
CHAPTER LXX.	
All Nations have been corrupted by Aristocratic Domination and Abuse	213
CHAPTER LXXI.	
Criminal Laws punish Abusers of Rights; English Law-makers reward Abusers of Others' Rights .. .. .	215
CHAPTER LXXII.	
Power is the Standard of Hell; Virtue and Justice form the Standard of Heaven .. .. .	216
CHAPTER LXXIII.	
All Orders of Action for Men must be Theocratical, Philosophical, and Practical .. .. .	219
CHAPTER LXXIV.	
Purity of Motive produces Right Order of Action .. .. .	220
CHAPTER LXXV.	
The Wicked shall be cut off from the Earth, and the Transgressor shall be rooted out of it.. .. .	223
CHAPTER LXXVI.	
Evidence that this is the Day of Error still.—Inequality considered ..	224
CHAPTER LXXVII.	
Julius Cæsar's Character considered .. .. .	226
CHAPTER LXXVIII.	
Excellence of Sentiment often gives way to the Love of Greatness ..	228
CHAPTER LXXIX.	
The Great is replacing the Good in our Day .. .. .	231
CHAPTER LXXX.	
All this Depravity exists, because Rulers take not their Instructions from Divine Maxims, such as Spiritual Love, which is such that it wishes to give what it has to another .. .. .	233

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

- How is it that we profess Christianity, and at the same Time systematically avoid the Practice of it, both in Church and State? .. 236

## CHAPTER LXXXII.

- Let the Test of all Governments be their Agreement with Christianity 237

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

- Malthus's Advocacy of Poverty as necessary, considered .. .. 238

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

- Capital employed industrially and intelligently contributes towards the Productions of the Earth, in a multiplied Form *ad infinitum, pro rata* with the Increase of Population .. .. 240

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

- The Advantages of Taxation, and the Evils of excessive Taxation, considered .. .. 242

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

- The Evil of the National Debt considered.. .. 244

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

- The Remedy for excessive Wealth .. .. 246

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

- A Diminution of Taxation gives rise to an increased Demand for Labour. Base Metal must not be regarded before Man, nor even Pure Metal 257

## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

- The Remains of the Feudal System are the Obstacles to Agricultural Progress.—Malthus further considered .. .. 251

## CHAPTER XC.

- In Proportion to the Increase of the Wealth of a Nation, the Wages of Labour ought to improve, which would be the case, were Government based upon First Principles .. .. 253

## CHAPTER XCI.

- The Malthusian Notion, that the Poor are better off with High Prices of Food than with Low Prices, controverted .. .. 257

## CHAPTER XCII.

- Paley's Great Mistake.—A laborious, frugal People, should be administering to the demands of all; not, as Paley would have it, to the "Opulent and Luxurious" .. .. 259

## CHAPTER XCIII.

- The Necessity of re-establishing the Usury Laws now made evident, through the inordinate Rates of Interest of Money, superinduced by the Monetary Party .. .. 262

	PAGE
CHAPTER XCIV.	
The Cause why Evils perpetuated are considered necessary to a State.—	
Dr. Oliver Goldsmith considered .. .. .	265
CHAPTER XCV.	
Unproductive Industry is a Loss to a Nation .. .. .	271
CHAPTER XCVI.	
Why does not Government employ Direct Taxation ? ... ..	274
CHAPTER XCVII.	
Paley considered .. .. .	275
CHAPTER XCVIII.	
Locke <i>versus</i> Paley, considered .. .. .	278
CHAPTER XCIX.	
The Owners of excessive Wealth, paying higher Rates than Owners of small Incomes of Labour, yield a Great Revenue; and this is Consistent with First Principles.. .. .	284
CHAPTER C.	
“If I have done anything for Society, I have done it really for my own advantage.”— <i>Marcus Aurelius</i> . .. .. .	294
CHAPTER CI.	
The Millions lost to the Nation by a Want of Principle on the part of the Government .. .. .	309
CHAPTER CII.	
Is the National Debt beneficial to the Nation, and whom does it benefit ?	312
CHAPTER CIII.	
All Attempts to reduce the National Debt are answered by superinducing Pretexts for War .. .. .	324
CHAPTER CIV.	
A Metallic Currency considered .. .. .	329
CHAPTER CV.	
Heads on which Alterations might be made .. .. .	336
CHAPTER CVI.	
Rulers must be Good as Great .. .. .	341
CHAPTER CVII.	
Journals should possess a high moral Standing, rather than a learned Display only .. .. .	354
CHAPTER CVIII.	
Direct Taxation.—Land-Tax Evasions .. .. .	357



## CHAPTER CIX.

Injustice and Crime among the Rulers of Nations, beget Injustice and Crime everywhere .. .. .	358
---	-----

## CHAPTER CX.

The Nation that would Colonize much, should, first of all, regard Justice .. .. .	366
---	-----

## CHAPTER CXI.

A more general Distribution of Wealth is beneficial to the Rich and the Poor .. .. .	370
--	-----

## CHAPTER CXII.

The <i>Times</i> Journal is the Barrier to Progress .. .. .	373
---	-----

## CHAPTER CXIII.

Neither the Extreme of Accumulation nor the Extreme of Subdivision is necessary .. .. .	375
---	-----

## CHAPTER CXIV.

The "Disease of the Mind" identical with this Day .. .. .	375
---	-----

## CHAPTER CXV.

The Wrong can never permanently uphold the State .. .. .	377
--	-----

## CHAPTER CXVI.

The lasting Advantages of Justice .. .. .	379
---	-----

## CHAPTER CXVII.

Is an Oligarchical Constitution consistent with First Principles? .. .	379
--	-----

## CHAPTER CVIII.

Is a Democracy consistent with First Principles? .. .. .	381
--	-----

## CHAPTER CXIX.

Why have not the State and the Protestant Church adopted Plato? .. .	385
--	-----

## CHAPTER CXX.

What, then, shall form an Elemental Basis for the Government grounded upon First Principles? .. .. .	387
--	-----

## CHAPTER CXXI.

The Regal Government, based upon First Principles, must be inclusive 390	
--	--

## CHAPTER CXXII.

Love shall form the Elemental Basis for the Government grounded upon First Principles .. .. .	391
---	-----

## CHAPTER CXXIII.

Money is Power .. .. .	394
------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER CXXIV.

The Policy of the Whigs considered with Regard to the Currency .. .	402
---	-----

	PAGE
CHAPTER CXXV.	
Exchequer Notes .. .. .	408
CHAPTER CXXVI.	
Excessive Paper under Discount is superinduced by an insufficient circulating Medium .. .. .	426
CHAPTER CXXVII.	
Mr. William Atkinson on the System of Political and Social Economy ..	430
CHAPTER CXXVIII.	
The great Fact, that there is Abundance for all, proved .. ..	445
CHAPTER CXXIX.	
Harmony is the ultimate Object of Creation, and is a Law well worth Man's Investigation.. .. .	452
APPENDICES.	
I. Policy in raising Loans for the State .. .. .	457
II. Imperial Revenue and Expenditure .. .. .	460
III. Account of the Gross Receipt and Net Produce of the Revenue of Customs and Excise .. .. .	479

# GOVERNMENT UPON FIRST PRINCIPLES.

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## INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE entering upon the laws which First Principles enunciate, some introductory remarks are necessary, in order to remove from the mind those wrong associations of principles which have caused governments to act from selfish authority, instead of an authority originating in a Divine mission.

The very basis of Governments, as now constituted, is wrong. They are wrong theologically, morally, and civilly. It would, therefore, be useless to start at once upon the grand principles of Theocracy, without offering preparatory considerations. We will then endeavour to produce scientific deductions for the sceptical; theological and philosophical axioms for the thoughtful, the virtuous, and the pure; and just principles for all.

The Author asks for the kind indulgence of the reader, while he leads him through the sciences of Geology, Geometry, Metallurgy, and Chemistry, which are briefly introduced as analogical corroborations, in order that First Principles of government may be more clearly illustrated.

It is hoped that at least this work may be found suggestive, and that others will after this go more deeply and elaborately

into the analogical laws, as the sources of all just thought. I do not consider the theocracy of John Knox attempted to set up priests over the head of kings. I mean by theocracy, a government based upon a first quality—upon first principles, away from conventional terms.

That which was the God of Heraclitus,\*—the God of Fire,—was Mohammed's demon—the very devil he found destroying paradise. By another school, that of the Ionians, water was considered their God; Thales traced the origin of all things to water, as did Anaximenes to air, and Timæus to matter.

More remarkable is the worship of the Zezides; they reverence the devil, and call him Melek el Kout—the Mighty Angel; they consider Satan to be the chief of the angelic host.

So that finding the term “God” by one nation and sect is understood to mean a God of love, by another a God of vengeance; conveying the meaning of *Kudhas* (good), to one—wisdom (*Divas*), to another—fire, to another—the devil, to another—water, to another—air, to another; I prefer sometimes using another nomenclature than the one in common use when Divinity is mentioned, because all present denominations have their various associations. Also, because the term “God” is indefinite, as it necessarily should be, pervading all causality; but definitions of attributes can better be expressed in simpler words, having greater perspicuity and cogency. If I wish to use the term “good” in an infinite degree, the term “God” expresses it certainly; but it also expresses wisdom or light. In Hebrew it expresses both a negation and affirmation—ל ל Aleph Lamed, signifying also God, not, and to; but יה Jah—God only: while in Sanserit, their God *Kudhas* signifies good, pure, &c.

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\* Heraclitus of Ephesus, a philosopher of the Ionian school, flourished about 513 B.C.



I therefore prefer using the terms First Cause, Causality, First Principles, sometimes, but only when more convenient, in order to lead old associations away from terms that have none of these associations. The terms of causality are as sacred to me as the ordinary ones in present use, while they convey a more definite meaning. By theocracy, I by no means would intend priestly domination. There is a great distinction between a government based upon First Principles, which would therefore be Divine, and one based upon an order of priesthood, which always has degenerated into human debasement. All orders of action for man must be theocratical, philosophical, and practical.

The two latter principles of action are, unfortunately, what priesthoods have ignored; yet this religious philosophy was more than the ideal with Plato, as it was the real world with Aristotle, and formed the sublime reality with Zeno, as it did with the Stoics in general; the whole of which, however, with them, became valueless without the practice.

I mean by theocracy, a government based upon the pure, innocent, and good;—Kudhas, from the verb *kudh*, to render pure and good; and also based upon the wisdom—the luminous light—Divas, derived from the verb *dio*, to lighten, to spread light.

The legislature, by withholding one single act of right and justice from the people, produces a greater evil to a nation than millions of punishments can rectify!

The skilful and cunning devices of statesmen, in evading and eluding justice, though keeping within the letter of the law, is a frightful feature in this day. Look at our registration lists, after that, at our elections; my space here will not admit of further enumerations in that direction now, but they are patent. England must have THE LAW, which is superior to the *letter*.

The law such as Junius required, "*Quando aliquid prohibetur, prohibetur et omne, per quod devenitur ad illud.*" This is in keeping with First Principles, recognizing no evasions, nor extenuations; purity of legislature should well provide that "when anything is forbidden, all the means by which the same thing may be compassed, or done, are equally forbidden."

The Five Sciences are used to illustrate the elementary law of analogy as subsidiary in the development of First Principles, some of the more salient features of which are adduced in order to distinguish the phases of their varied adaptations, which will, in the after part of this work, assume an essential of the aggregate of creation, rather than an analogical comparison. I have endeavoured to portray the inward causality-world as the primary cause of the outward worlds of matter.

The day has come when men must choose the First Cause to rule over the nations, rather than man. Then First Principles will re-organize the sub-rulers of nations, and raise up a standard by which to try all acts of parliament and all acts of men, consistent with First Principles—consistent with the standard of Heaven, which is, "*Extend to others the goods you yourselves enjoy,*"—expressed in three words, "Love to all." Mohammed knew this, and said, "Ye shall love one another freely." Zeno perceived virtue to be the ultimate of his researches. Above all things, a government should be practically just. A church, above all things, should never violate a trust nor prostitute a privilege. Its precepts fail to accomplish their design immediately that is done. Let all laws be drawn from the Spirit Standard—the New Word. But how squares the First Principles' present franchise with this Bible testimony? How square the excessive accumulations of wealth by the few, and the excessive want among the many? Is this not anti-Biblical? Let it be well understood that *punishment ever attends the un-*

*worthy reception of good gifts, in some way, on earth, as well as in the causal world.*

It will be said that a man, acting on just principles, would be imposed upon from morning to night here on earth ; such charity can only be practised in the heavens. I say, in answer, Let us first begin on earth (or we may not reach heaven), by acting *justly* to all, in love to all. Before we can act upon charity, we have a *mighty work* to accomplish—*i.e.*, to carry out JUSTICE.

With the surrounding injustice staring every man in the face, the attempt to induce him to be even just will seem to be a certain failure : without first removing all injustice from the controlling powers, crime will never cease. Where is there a man fit to rule on earth ? There never was more than one fully perfect, and he was God. Stranger still, Divine Power seeks not to rule at all ! It seeks to teach, not in terror, but in the pure “Spirit of Love.” Men, on the contrary, seek not to teach in love, but to rule by the terror of unjust laws. Instead of extending to others the joys they possess, the immunities they enjoy—they withhold all they can from all. In a word, they have departed altogether from the spirit of Heaven, which is, “*Give,*” and have established the opposite, *viz.*, “*Take.*” England enjoys the advantage of a good queen at present, and our constitution is such that the regal prerogative in the person of the sovereign can do but little harm ; but unless her ministers are true to First Principles, much harm can yet be done. As well might Great Britain remain autoeratical monarchical, as to have a premier who impudently usurped the prerogatives of the House, as in 1857. Great care must be taken that no individual nor any faction shall become too powerful nor too numerous. A balance of factional power is a grand consideration, and will ever be regarded by a sound constitution as the highest attain-

ment of liberty. Analogy illustrates this maxim in that of the human passions; one only left unchecked will soon destroy the whole equilibrium of the man, and bring him into bondage, rather than liberty.

Mankind has advanced in First Principles so little, that we actually have lost sight of the fact, that were all to assist in imparting some of their goods to others when prudence justified it, all would be both receiving and giving,—want would no more exist here than in heaven. Want is the result of exclusive legislation: the few holding the much, the many must have the little.

Excessive riches among the few is an encumbrance, resulting rather in misery than in happiness amongst its possessors; while miseries result also from the want of sufficient among the many; so that the many poor and the rich few are both and all rendered miserable by greedy legislation.



## CHAPTER I.

## THE ELEMENTARY LAW OPERATING UPON THE SOUL.

WHEN man reflects upon the laws which govern the universe, in all the measured revolutions of earths—in geology, geometry, metallurgy, chemistry, and in the animal and vegetable kingdoms: when the mind has once learnt to perceive their unerring order of action, affinity, gravitation, or attractive force; when it once fully perceives the constant regularity of process in all mundane things; it is raised higher, and recognizes the majesty of law, and endeavours to perceive that the elementary operations upon the soul work in an order as certain, and under governing principles as regular, as those which operate in matter. Let not this be supposed to savour of anti-theism. Nor let it be imagined that the writer intends to detract from the power of the Beneficent First Cause; but that we may know Him better by knowing his causal laws, and so avoid the baneful consequences of error, he has been induced to investigate the intricate yet all essential elementary laws of being.

This can best be accomplished by analogy. If the great Ruler of millions of worlds be found to have established laws which hold all in harmony in this vast extension and boundless magnitude, is it an illogical deduction, that the minds of the intellectual beings of the universe are governed by laws immutable, yet ever adapted to human mutations? We know that matter operates upon matter, and that the most subtile and ethereal matters form the most potential influences on earth. We know, first, that the mind governs the body and controls it when in order, but the body seduces the mind when out of

order; the animal affections sometimes govern the body; passions and lusts infest the mind. What is effected then? Why, the soul becomes afflicted with evil by an elementary law, that is, whatever soul or mind becomes affected by anything less pure than the elementary influence, or the Spirit of First Principles universally operating, (like the sun, with its radiations upon all,) that soul admitting a less pure influence to affect him, has an action upon him less pure, from which he derives less happiness; or from which he suffers. This state is called Evil, so called because it produces the reverse of happiness, *i.e.* misery.

I have always considered, that if these lesser influences producing evil had the power of producing happiness, they never would have been interdicted by creative genius, nor by man's own conscience—God's vicegerent in the soul; for the permanent happiness of man is ever the great object of creation. I say permanent, by which I mean eternal; because in the body-life, occasional intermissions of man's happiness for his improvement are experienced, which I take to be a lesser evil to avoid a greater. The greatest happiness is creation's object, good and grand; the lesser, creation's sublunary means.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE THREE ESSENTIAL QUALITIES OF LIFE.

THE grand essentials of life, in varied forms of expression, are loveful, truthful, and delightful; or essence, motive, and power. In motion is the element of power; in the essence is the element of motion. Motion, to be harmonious, must be as essential as potential. Actions, then, are pure as they are co-ordinate in motive and power.

Pleasures are pure as they are co-ordinate in love, action, and power; or as they approach to equality in each of these classifications; because to have a desire greater than the means of accomplishing the object desired, is to entail pain. The causes of misery, then, are unsubdued desires and passions—the will greater than the intelligence in accomplishing it, or by taking the direction which intelligence forbids: thus inordination, and not co-ordination of will, mind, and means. See, then, the true cause of misery, and thence discover that what constitutes true philosophy constitutes happiness.

Cultivate no wants which cause pain to yourself, nor to others, in possession or privation, unless in self-sacrifice for good. Zeno said,—

“He wished to live in the world as if nothing was properly his own. He loved others, and his affections were extended even to his enemies.”

“He felt a pleasure in being kind, benevolent, and attentive; and he found that these sentiments of pleasure were reciprocal.”

“He saw a connection and dependence in the system of the universe, and perceived that from thence arose the harmony of civil society, the tenderness of parents, and filial gratitude.”

“He recommended resignation.”

Allow no privations to cast down the soul; possess nothing that for general good you could not part with. Let the will of selfish nature ever be held in bondage to the mind, receiving its dictate from the love of the good and the true. Learn to live a paradise;—a paradise live to learn.

To others teach what is proved to benefit mankind at large.

Never indulge the first desire; learn early to check the first impulse. Man's miseries originate in unsubdued wants and assumptions—unnecessary desires. Stop and investigate the wish before acting upon it. Rude nature must and is to be subdued, all nature can and is to be controlled, by the mind and intelligence of man. Sterling and sturdy Nature must warp and twist herself into shape and rectitude by the power of the

mind's master dictate. The will of man must stop on the threshold of action, and be first introduced and guided by the intelligence of wisdom and science; without such a conductor, man is sure to stumble, and perhaps fall. The will of man is his fair consort, that looks up to her wisdom for guidance when in harmony; but the unruly uncontrolled coquette, when not subdued, allowing her desires to run riot, every pretty attraction dazzling by gaudy though dangerous splendour. Like the silly gnat, fluttering round the warm light, approaching nearer and nearer, till its wings catch fire, becoming partially or wholly burnt, so is the animal man without the intellectual man; our wills and desires flirting after expensive though needless gratifications, the more having the more wanting, unless the intelligence of First Principles, teaching through the mind, tell where to stop.

To restrain our desires within the laws of true theocracy, we should have these maxims ever before us:—

“Let us love one another, for love is of God.”

“He that oppresseth the poor to increase his own riches shall come to want.”

“Rob not the poor, for God will plead their cause, and spoil the soul that spoileth them.”

Again: compare the wisdom and philosophy of Zeno two hundred and fifty years before the above words were expressed by the Evangelists.

Allow me to extract honey from all the beautiful flowers of this mighty creation, and from profane or sacred history; all is beautiful to me that is good and true.

Zeno said—The external actions of men were the best indications of their inward feelings, their secret inclinations, and their characters.

It was the duty of the Stoic to study himself; in the evening he was enjoined to review with critical accuracy the events of the day, and to regulate his future conduct with more care, and always find an impartial witness within his own breast.

Zeno's maxim was, that with virtue men could live happy under most pressing calamities.



He said Nature had given us two ears and only one mouth, to tell us we ought to listen more than to speak.

He compared those whose actions were dissonant with their professions, to the coins of Alexander, which appeared beautiful to the eye, though made of the basest metals.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### GEOLOGY ILLUSTRATES THE ANALOGICAL LAW.

A GOVERNMENT, or power of restraint, should be held over all the animal cravings.

Men's wants are not often their absolute requirements, or essential to their better being; their denials are oftener the more essential part of their requirements. How does this square with the elementary law operating upon the soul? Where is the analogy in nature? Let us see if we can trace this in the sciences, and begin with the first mentioned, viz., Geology. Can we there discover good evolved from restraint? Can we discern benevolent results from actions involving *contrary* forces? We will notice some.

What beneficial products are the result of the organic changes of the earth? Volcanic eruptions throwing the tertiary, secondary, and primary strata into contact with each other, and, by the action of air and pulverization, yielding thereby the most fertile soils, for the cultivator of the earth. How valued are the mixtures of the plastic clay with the limestone, green sand, the varied oolites, the lias or blue clay, the new red sandstone, the magnesian limestone, in small proportions? These together, with the Upper Silurian System, the Lower Silurian Rocks, the Cambrian System, and even the Mica and Gneiss systems, produce a beneficial mixture. Where these meet, better land may be expected; and where they do not meet of themselves, the skill of man can be profitably employed. Instead of letting them rest quiet as they are, by disturbing

the substrata, dig down into the bowels of the earth ; and by thus disturbing it you develop its treasures, which are obtained in admixtures of apparent contrarieties. Here, then, we find an analogy in nature. We may surely know that if the earth is not to be let alone, neither is man. The elementary law upon man, then, by which the soul is benefited, is the action of contrariety ; the denial of self-complacence for the attainment of further acquirements—the parting from that easy self-indulgence which is the darling affection of the heart—benefits the soul more than gifts received ; whilst that received in return, furnishes us with means for a more extended usefulness.

Impart to others freely, and unselfishly, of thought, intelligence, word, and wealth ; mingle together for good. Having the object and motive good, mix with characters even opposite to yourself ; and by mild converse (not argument) moderate the excesses, looking well at the same time at your own. Never despise even bad characters as lost, but look upon them in the spirit of loving your enemies (as did Zeno, that great Stoic philosopher) ; endeavour to find some good point in them, upon which you can commence to kindle better sentiments and actions ; dig down into the depths of their depravities. Often these are not far worse than your own. Though they profess infinitely less than others, they may often be found to be noble and generous under very rough exteriors. The revolutions they have undergone may have rendered them fertile sources wherein to insinuate good. How true is the analogy in nature here ! Wherever natural heat or warmth exists in a soil, as in the neighbourhood of volcanoes, there it exhibits the most exuberant fertility. The advantage we derive from the convulsions of the earth literally, is graphically expressed by Hitchcock in his “Religion of Geology” (p. 155) :—

“If these strata had remained horizontal, as they were originally deposited, it is obvious that all the valuable ores, minerals, and rocks, which man could not have discovered by direct excavation, must have remained for ever unknown to him. Now, man has very seldom penetrated the rocks below the depth of half a mile, and rarely so deep as that ; whereas, by the elevations, dislocations,

and overturnings that have been described, he obtains access to all deposits of useful substances that lie within fifteen or twenty miles of the surface ; and many are probably brought to light from a greater depth. He is indebted, then, to this disturbing agency for nearly all the useful metals, coal, rock-salt, marble, gypsum, and other useful minerals ; and when we consider how necessary these substances are to civilized society, who will doubt that it was a striking act of benevolence which thus introduced disturbance, dislocation, and apparent ruin into the earth's crust ?”

May not we be reconciled to what is called the “fall of man,” when we contemplate the benefits that have been derived from disturbances of his nature, analogous to those of the earth ? May we not see good coming out of the rough material of his nature that was necessary to be broken up ? May we not see, if only as through a glass darkly, that there may have been required in man, states of humility, self-denial, sacrifice, a conscious dependence, as if by acts of his own ; a manful and grateful co-operation with the Deity, in rising and recovering from a low condition ? This conscious choice of the supreme good and truth, and denial of self, could not have been so fully attained, had he been created and sustained in a perfect state. In acts of reclamation and everlasting progression, man has a perpetual work to do, designed for unending gratifications. The idea is joyous. Imagine the happiness that all improvements bring with them. Our own condition and position improved, our relation to others improved in this world ; and in the next, a continuous improvement ! What can we conceive to be more calculated to make man a joyous being, than to be ever and ever inheriting a better and more enlarged sphere of happiness !

Let us not repine, if, for instance, our health be not at all times good, when we can be assured of a condition at some future day that shall repay us, as science, chemistry, and causality become developed—an infinite recompense, a reward eternally, will be perpetuated towards us. The drawback is only that which checks the progress, that we may pause and consider : no punishment is intended but sorrow, which shall be an improving medium both for this earth and for eternity.

## CHAPTER IV.

## RAISE UP A BETTER PRINCIPLE TO REPRESS A WORSE.

WE often suffer by a boastful generosity. The generous would be right, minus the pride; but in some, for a time, the generous will not act without the pride. Then bear with them, but at suitable seasons portray the pride in all its hideous shapes; and where once caused to be fully seen, it will be viewed with disgust by its possessor. Let us look again for an illustration in Nature.

Soils on the surface, that have not enough of one particular property—which may be deficient, for instance, in saline or alluvial requirements—may have, far below its surface, the requisite property in prodigious abundance. So is man crude and uncultured, having elements in his nature of the richest kinds, but latent and dormant, requiring culture to bring them into activity, and develop the true proportion for harmonious production. Geology thus illustrates to man the fact that he is a progressive being, and that the great Architect of the Universe designed that each new production should be an improvement upon its prototype, either physically, mentally, morally, or spiritually. We have but to look into the history which geology unfolds to our senses and subjects to our intellectual observation, to notice that from the first vegetable production of the flowerless plants, the Cryptogamian class, up to our now luxuriant vegetation, progress can be traced, the tendency to perfection and elaboration can be everywhere seen. We can advance among the fossil remains, from the plain flowerless plant, perfect in its organization, and mark how Nature next proceeded to produce the plant with flowers, of the Phanerogamian class. In the earliest periods of organic life, very few flowering plants were to be found, and these of an intermediate character, between the flowerless and the flowering, such as the Coniferæ and Cycadeæ. How striking and manifest is the analogy even here to the growth of the mind and the character of man! The mind is first plain and simple, ready to be acted upon by surrounding



circumstances, from which it makes deductions, and adopts them as its own. Then the newly received seeds of intelligence send forth each its own bud, which, by the warm and genial atmosphere of surrounding circumstances and intelligences, expands into a flower of mental creation, from whence spring new sources of finite wisdom.

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## CHAPTER V.

### IN NATURE, CREATION WAS PROGRESSION.

THE improvement of each thing upon its prototype may be more forcibly and continuously seen to have ever existed in the progressive links between the vegetable and the animal kingdom. From the stony plants called Lithophytes, we ascend, and notice the animal plants, or Zoophytes, which swarm in the ocean, and some of them build up those extensive stony structures called coral reefs. These are called the Radiated class, and often resemble plants. Then come the Articulated animals, having envelopes, connected with annulated plates, or rings: such animals as the lobster, the bloodsucker, the spider, and insects generally. The next are the Molluses, or the animals inhabiting shells. They are destitute of a spinal marrow, and for the most part their muscles are attached to the external covering called the shell. Then the Vertebral animals, distinguished by having a vertebral column, or back bone, a regular skeleton, and a regular nervous system. This comprehends all the quadrupeds and bipeds, with *Man at their head*, who is immeasurably superior to all other classes in complexity of organization and strength of muscular power, as well as in his powers of mind.

How great is the analogy between the growth of the mind and the progress of true religion and philosophy, forming the man and forming his real character! Philosophy and religion I now regard as operative in the mind, unconnected with any



State Church. This State Church, with its Thirty-nine Articles and confused orthodoxy, has long become a hindrance to this progress, hampering and fettering the mind. The inheritance of a State religion is a heavy bondage in this nineteenth century. In alluding to the growth of the mind and of true religion, I am compelled to leave out those within the pale of all State Churches, where despotic law prevails, hindering progress.

Take the analogy of the early periods of organic life, when the flowerless Cryptogamian class grew in little more than in albuminous matter, merging from the gaseous and darkened earth, as described in Genesis i. 2 : "And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." This state of the earth corresponds to the vacancy of the mind of the newly born.

Then proceeds the improved order of creation, and we come to that of plants of an intermediate character, between the flowerless and the flowering, such as the Coniferæ and Cycadeæ. Following up Genesis here, the "Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In the mental creation, mind begins to be acted upon by surrounding circumstances ; organization makes its first onward motion.

Thence proceeds the flowering plant of the Phanerogamian class : as in Genesis, "God said let there be light, and there was light ;" or, as Swedenborg says, "And God said, Let man begin to know that goodness and truth are somewhat from above, and not from man's self-hood." With the light came the flowers of the earth ; with the light came the delights of the heart and the mind ; the flowers of the soul, that gratify the sight, and make the earth joyful.

The vegetable merges into the animal life, in that of the Lithophytes and Zoophytes. "And God saw the light that it was good, and God divided the light from the darkness." In the most ancient time God created the internal man, and the external man ; and the external man without regeneration had nothing in him good or true ; and thick darkness overspread the designs of his heart, and the mercy of the Lord brooded over it. "And God saw the knowledge, that it was light from

Himself, who is essential goodness and truth; and He distinguished between the knowledge to which the flowers of earth correspond, and the plants, which appeared to be self-derived amid the darkness of the earth,—the flowerless corresponding to the knowledge derived from man's selfhood (to which evil seems like good, and the false like truth).

The Radiated class corresponds to the radiation of the mind in its earliest stage, in the external man, before any new birth or regeneration had become evident.

Then came the Articulated animals, enveloped and annulated in plates and rings, hardening and indurating as they came into contact with the surrounding circumstances; analogous to the check which the mind necessarily receives to its expansion, until other qualities enter into its constituents, which are necessary to its entire organization. The same may be said of the next class of the Molluses, which have the external covering called the shell, in which they are encased, and by which they are protected.

The next are the Vertebrated animals, distinguished by a vertebral or back bone, a regular skeleton, and a regular nervous system. Here is a great move in Creation towards a greater acquirement of organization, extension, and adaptative capabilities: a sensitive nervous system, through which natural feeling should guide its operations. Just analogous to this is the acquisition of the organization of the mind, its extension, adaptation, and capabilities; the head of the nervous system, by which all communications take place with the body.

The extension of the vertebrated animal in variety and complexity, is seen in the Old and New Red Sandstone in the existence of the Batrachians, and the fishes in the Carboniferous group; then the Reptiles: but not until we reach the Oolite is the Mammiferous animal found. The more perfect animals have been developed gradually, becoming more and more complete as we rise in the scale of strata. The higher and more complex natures, both of animals and plants, were not introduced at first, but came in by degrees. The earth was neither adapted to their existence, nor could their existence come out of the adaptation and quality of the surface of the earth.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE NEBULAR THEORY.

LET not this mode of expression be mistaken for the advocacy of the nebular theory as advocated by Laplace, or Democritus. But the development hypothesis illustrates primary formations very clearly, if we bear in mind the Creator presides over and directs the whole universe. The term "Nebulæ," is derived from the Latin word *nebula*, a mist, or foggy vaporous cloud. I can readily recognize the vortical law, which gave birth to the orbital, also the axillary motion, conducting the elements into a sphere, or globe; in which I see the natural elementary law which operated in the production of this earth.

But I can go no further than this with Laplace, nor with Epicurus, nor with the other great writers who have wished to establish the Creation by natural laws, *unconnected with a Creator, or Infinite Wisdom*. I wish not to dispute about the name, whether we call our *God, Jehovah, or Creator, the First Cause, the Primordial Element, the Anterior Elemental Law Maker, or God with us*. I can conceive of no such grand scheme as this earth, the planets, the suns, the systems, the universes in the far distant immensity of space, without acknowledging the great First Cause, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and Omnipresent; who is, and was, and ever will be, the Grand Architect of the universes.

Man may have found out some of His laws, and given human names to them, but he has his lesson—his task—cut out for eternity, to comprehend the vastness of the creation, and the perfections of the Creator.

Swedenborg, in his *Principia*, after treating on the means of attaining a true philosophy, proceeds to deduce his elementary principia of the universe.

## CHAPTER VII.

SWEDENBORG'S INQUIRIES INTO THE FIRST MANIFESTATION  
OF DIVINE CREATING ENERGY.\*

THIS he represents, in geometrical language, as the first natural point which, in his expressive language, is "born of the Infinite." In tracing the effects arising out of the action of the spiral forces, he shows how a first limit, or boundary, will arise; and hence how a new form of existence will come into being, which he designates the "first finite," because it is the first limit. There is this grand difference between Swedenborg and Cudworth, or Lamarek, and others advocating the efficiency of nature, that Swedenborg never loses sight of the supernatural Causality. He always has in view the great Archetype. Something grand we designate Sacred; because so far beyond that of man and nature, that we are lost in even finding a name sufficiently superlative. While Cudworth and Laplace, &c., call it nature's own work, and ascribe all to laws; as if there need be no law maker, or as if laws could execute themselves.

There is this difference, that according to Swedenborg's geometrical principles, each finite, or elementary molecule, has a principle of inherent motion within it, active in the degree that it approaches the infinite, and which directly produces an axillary motion, and indirectly a translatory or local motion in space.

Again, he says common matter is inert, and if it once existed passively diffused, how could it ever have changed its condition? How could an inert body originate a central, or any other motion?

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\* See "Intellectual Repository," for February, 1855.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE OOLITIC STRATA AND MAN.

Nor until we reach the Oolitic strata, is the mammiferous animal found ; and as we rise in the scale of rocks and strata, we find the quadrupeds and bipeds. Now is not the whole geological history of the vegetable and animal creation analogous to the growth of the mind ? Not until his rudimentary education has prepared the mind with first principles, and the world's rough usage has crumbled off the angularities of his nature, can man be said to be truly human. The sensuous part of our nature, unguided by our higher power, is found to be unproductive of even sensuous gratifications ; we all look a little higher for happiness. All more or less seek delight in the moral feelings, until thereon we can make a firmer tread, when the mind thirsts for loftier supplies from the pure Source of the good and true, wherever it can be found developing itself in practical philosophy, in science, or in art ; or in any of the more refined modes by which the soul seeks happiness ; and especially by searching out Causality—God, in his great works of nature, above, below, and all around. The mind becomes sufficiently prepared at last, to contemplate what is called Religion ; having now an association of a worn-out strata, in that of a State church, which, like the rigid muscle that still grasped the sword it held when the stroke of death set free the soul of the warrior. Stiff as is that rigid muscle, is much of the religion of this day, and as cold and lifeless. Surely here you might see the first finite, analogous to the first limit—the first manifestations of Divine creating energy ; but the mind can proceed no farther in such a narrow pale ; it must break through this quadruped nature, this orthodox, and then be free, and at last more matured, more prepared—become the erect biped, looking inwards and upwards, with upright principles, and benevolent aspirations. We may venture to contemplate the immensity of our Creator, fearing not that if our motives be



pure, we shall find Him everywhere—in the pale of the church and out of it—in all the sciences, among the Stoic and even Epic philosophers, we shall find His wondrous wisdom clearly defined, and in all the arts His wondrous beauty portrayed—Man at the head of all these wondrous works of Creation.

“And the externals which before were not man, Jehovah God formed into man, and imparted to him the life of faith and love, and the external man became a living soul.”\*

That responsible man made in the image of God, and with dominion over all creatures, ultimately entered into a world ripened for his reception.

The synopsis, then, we derive from mundane geology, merely affords us a striking illustration of the operations of Divine Providence in all things, especially in that of the preparation of the earth for the reception of man. No one presumes to say the hundreds of thousands of years that rolled on before it became fit for responsible man: the irresponsible brute could live and die, as did the days and years; but much preparation was needed before man appeared to further the Divine end in perfecting creation. The symbol then is, that life is elementary preparation; the synonyme of that is culture—physical, mental, and spiritual culture.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### SPIRIT NOT ONLY ANALOGOUS, BUT IS MOTIVE POWER.

Not only are the changes of the spirit analogous to the progressive movements in the preparation of the earth, but the spirit in man originates precisely those very movements in the body itself; and, still more, is the antecedent of all movement

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\* “Summary of the Spiritual Sense of Genesis.”

and preparation therein. The mind, like the earth, requires this preparation: layer upon layer, store upon store, strata upon strata, acquirement upon acquirement. First, the senses are being tuned; then, the memory is stored with one order of the natural, then of the metaphysical. After hundreds of thousands of impressions have been made—after the mind is sufficiently stored, the sensual purged, and made sufficiently subordinate to the mental—then a more pure and divine life can enter, does enter, into mind and body, and takes up its abode with man. Comparative harmony exists, in proportion to the reliance upon the pure, and the rejection of the impure, in all things: so does man become better and happier. In proportion, then, to the reception of the elementary orderly spirit, will order and harmony reign in us; the sequence of which is, comparative happiness.

The elementary law operating upon the soul is antecedent to the elementary law operating upon the body. The body receives its motive power from the soul's inspiration. Swedenborg has said, in his "Apocalypse Explained," chap. ii. p. 204:—"The body feels not from itself the interior life of man, which is the life of his spirit, which life is the life of his understanding and will, or of his thought and affection; feels by the organs of the body the things which are in the world, and thus perceives them naturally; the whole body, with all its sensories, is only an instrument of its soul or spirit." The preparation of this body, then, is an all-important consideration. To know oneself is a great acquisition; to do what such knowledge dictates is the essential practice of life.

The synopsis of geology, analogically regarded in its relation to man, teaches us in this day that, though every change has been properly articulated and developed in nature, yet the grand changes and developments have taken place; so that, when necessary to accomplish this in a greater degree, even convulsions have taken place on the earth naturally, and the benefits resulting from it are every day made more evident to man.

The moral is then, in the true order of analogy, calculated

to teach all in this day, that every principle of action must be properly defined and acted upon; that not only the flowerless, but the fruitless, cannot be worthy the brilliant light of this day. Progress and change must go onwards, articulating and developing the mind; and though each order of progress shall be distinct, yet the grand change from the Cryptogamian (the dark condition of the mind) must come. The light of this day will make evident the uselessness of the darkness of governmental impurity, which old rulers and churches would envelope us in, but which the light of the mind must throw off, if peradventure convulsions will arise, not from the day, but from the night, of existence.

No good will come of the eruptions until man, in the spirit of love, endeavours to unite these heterogeneous elements when they become thrown together.

So, good bishops and statesmen, become the cultivators of foreign lands if you will, but don't forget your own! You need not go far—it is brought to your own home, in order that you shall not become idle with the plethora that John Bull has so profusely lavished upon you.

To statesmen especially does the history of nature speak loudly from First Principles.

You must really go on, or go down into your own flowerless, fruitless darkness. The times will tell us great bodies move slowly, but the history of nature will tell us that great bodies move rapidly but orderly; because order is, that the superior move the inferior, not the inferior the superior. But since the darkness has become the medium of power on earth, how comes this order? It can only be explained by the light of the so-called new truth of First Principles, but which is many thousand years old: that darkness is demoniacal, and demons represent themselves, like the times, to be the children of light.

That great bodies move rapidly will become evident, when we recollect the rapidity with which the great comet was said to have approached this earth in 1858. \* \* \* \* Also when we recollect earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, the power of combustion; also of steam.

Then our progress in Great Britain, when relatively considered, becomes retrogression ; *i.e.*, according to light presented are fruits required to come forth. Now, the light of First Principles has existed since man was created ; was again resuscitated from the human sepulchre in the year A.D. 1 ; is again entombed by statesmen and by State churches in the year of our Lord 1859.

But it never can be extinguished. O ye sordid, crafty statesman of law and church. You may kill, crucify, entomb First Principles in this day, as of old ; but it will only rise up in kind judgment, not against you, as would an adverse counsel, but as one that with judgment would leave you a legacy of golden guidance of love—a rule for future action—that can lead to happiness without your excess of gold in coin ; since it no longer represents love in commerce, but love in perversion ; that is, hatred.

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## CHAPTER X.

### GEOMETRY.

THE science of Geometry enables man to measure the earth : what have we analogous that enables man to measure himself, in order that he may know himself ? What homometer have we, since we have a geometer ? We have a physical essay from Combe, showing how we may measure the cranium ; but what have we analogous to the geometrical problems, or the mensuration of heights and distances, surfaces or solids, levelling or gauging ?

As the natural origin of the earth was its central law—centrifugal action—so the natural origin of gravitation was in the motion of all things gravitating to the same centre : so that as long as centrifugal, centripetal action, and rotatory motion

exist, this earth will ever increase, surrounded as it is by the circumambient air, which gives and sustains life. So that, like heaven, the more it contains, the more it will hold (if we may use such earthly phraseology)—just as one idea is a basis for another idea ; and so on, *ad infinitum*.

This earth, then, may be a thousand times larger than it now is, which then may become after that a thousand times larger than the previous thousandfold—and so on ; thus corresponding with the heavens *ad infinitum*.

Thus all Malthus's unscientific apprehensions are futile. Something for Euclid to answer : Which will admit of the greater extension in a sphere—the larger or the smaller orb, either in the orbicular or spiral motion ?

First causes, then, act—go forth from a nucleus, as its particles become attenuated, either by causality, chemical action, or rarefaction, without going into definitions on a plane angle, or an angle, or the arc of a circle, which measures every plane angle ; nor on right lines, nor triangles, nor on parallel right lines, which, if infinitely produced, would never meet. The circles and angles in their varied configurations are analogous to the will and the understanding of man. The will, virtually governing and including the understanding, is what the arc of a circle is to the plane angle : by this we find the true antecedent or priority of quality, which is opposite to the practice of this earth, which allows the judgment to measure the will. Now, let us take love or benevolence, which should reside in the will, and is analogous to the circle : let love measure or estimate the understanding and the acts of men, and we should arrive at more correct *à priori* decisions. But the opposite is the practice generally.

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## CHAPTER XI.

## THE WILL MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE INTELLECT.

THE will being at present checked by the judgment is not without a sufficient reason, because the love or will of man, analogous to this earth, is not now perfect. The earth is not a perfect globe, nor a perfect circle; which is analogous to the will or love not being true, but distorted by selfishness or pride. Were the love pure, the wisdom could not err in judgment; but now, unfortunately, man has lost the measurement of himself by *First Principles*, and substitutes secondary means, which only can be correct after all, as the affections are pure. Hence have arisen the ramifications and multiplications of acts of parliament, of courts of law, of common law and equity;\* all for men who have lost the true circle by which to measure their rectilineals: for men who have lost their rectitude of will or purpose, or their right judgment, are obstinate in selfish intention; and this blinds their minds.

Whilst, then, science has retained its true order, and Mathematics can claim familiarity with the antecedents and remains intact, man can only claim association with imperfections and error, which are constant in his fallen nature. Let him then stoop to science, in order to find out his own insufficiency, and by science be taught to know the true circle and the great Centre of all circles, and seek aid from all Creation's works—the true Source of all love and wisdom—that he may be guided aright in this sublunary existence.

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\* Our Court of Equity is a disgrace to mankind; call it the Court of Iniquity.

## CHAPTER XII.

DOES SPIRIT-RAPPING PROVE THE CERTAINTY OF SPIRIT DISTINCT AND DISCRETE FROM MATTER? OR, DOES IT PROVE THAT MATTER IN CONTINUITY EXISTS AFTER THIS LIFE?

IF spirit be a discrete degree, and not composed of any material substance, how comes it that it makes sounds and motions evident to our material senses? Also, how does it happen that inert matter is moved, and made to send forth sounds? I could readily explain these phenomena upon the material continuity of etherealization, until it reach what may be called spirit; because then the spirit of matter being itself matter, can readily be understood to become more powerful as it becomes more ethereal—such as mephitic air in causing death, various gases, phlogiston, electricity, &c. Others may be allowed to have an opinion upon the term *φλέγω* (*to burn*), phlogiston, besides Lavoisier. There are subtile principles which Lavoisier has not yet understood; nor have Bercher nor Stahl. There must be some incombustible base united to something, if not to phlogiston, that exists after combustion; in fact, all the materials of combustion exist after combustion, changed only to be in a more perfect geometrical formation. The argument simply is, Are the most subtile principles *spirit*, unconnected and uncontinuous with matter; or, are they *matters* in continuity of etherealization, expansion, minute division—or, as by distillation, a concentration of essentials? The phenomena of table tipping, &c., would be better explained by the latter than the former.

I do not attach the importance to the term “Spirit,” that some Swedenborgians do: a material *spirituosa et atherea alcoholica* is a diffusible stimulant. Why is it diffusible? Simply because it is etherealized into minute particles and molecules. This is a law—the lesser the particle the greater the stimulant. Take the stimulant as the cause, the spirit the means holding

in solution the cause—*stimulant*,—and we find diffusion and dispersion the effect.

It would appear that there is something prior to spirit naturally. Fire, for instance, inflames spirit, and sends it again into more minute division, and into a more perfect geometrical formation. Fire, naturally, is prior to spirit—is more minute in atomic dimension; hence has greater power than spirit, since diffusion takes place immediately upon contact with fire. According, then, to the law of correspondence, fire would be a better term to represent anterior qualities than spirit. Poets have always used the term in impassioned imaginations, heat of temper, the vigour of fancy, the burning desire, the passion of love: the Faculty also uses the term in eruptions or imposthumations, as St. Anthony's fire. It was the fire in the spirit that made the spirit natural, both together producing the effect, diffusion. Fire, then, is more powerful than spirit, is more subtile; and therefore, *à priori et à fortiori*, is a better antecedent in nature than spirit.

If, then, the law of correspondence be correct, spirit does not represent an eternal existence, an immaterial existence, so well as does fire; for fire is ever consuming, and spirit is ever being consumed, in nature. Analogically, therefore, fire is more anterior than spirit, and would better represent the celestial degree; while spirit, analogically, better represents the intermediate degree, which is not discrete, but materially continuous. If there be a discrete degree, it would better be explained at the point of combustion, according to natural phenomena, than at the point of etherealization; because crystalizations and geometric formations take place after fire. Naturally, spirits and ethers are coarser fluids, and, in point of density of matter, are heavier in the mundane than caloric. The diffusion of spirit is promoted by heat, whereas the diffusion of caloric is by conduction, radiation, and convection, which are its own essential elementary modes of action.

Caloric is ever producing action upon every matter with which it comes in contact; either by expansion, augmentation of bulk, liquefaction, or vaporization, and germination, none

of which are effected without action and movement, which is always more or less rapid, according to its intensity.

Causality can better be assigned to caloric than to spirit. Anteriority must be in the producing cause, rather than in effect produced by the cause. Fire will change the solid to the liquid form, but it will also change the liquid into the æriform by vaporization; and however ethereal the latter, fire—the cause—is infinitely more subtle.

Instead of calling the spirit-rappings Spirit, I would prefer the terms Calorific Rappings, Calorific Mediums, Electric or Magnetic Mediums, or, still better, Elemental Vitality.

The actual meaning of spirit is Wind, or Pneuma, Pneumatōs (πνεῦμα-ἄτος), any æriform fluid. Now, however subtle air or wind may be, it receives all its action from rarefaction and condensation, which it derives from heat, more or less, and the absence of heat.

Air, therefore, is wholly under the control of caloric, is subject to its influence, and is the servant and slave of it. Fire at once disengages its component parts, setting free its gases of oxygen and nitrogen; air subserves fire, as a vassal does his lord. How, then, does it arise that spirit, air, or wind, is the term given to our after-life? How came our theologians to fix upon this term "Spirit," to illustrate our after-existence? Why, analogically, the term "Spirit" conveys the idea of subservience and dependence upon either the fire of love, or the fire of hate; ever consuming, never consumed, but ever in the act of separation—disengagement ever going on under its all-powerful influence, or refrigeration under its absence.

Carrying out the law of analogy, then, spirit, soul, or being, must ever be departing from, and separating from, the loves of his own nature—must ever be denying himself his natural gratifications, and must ever be separating his two elemental essentials, and must be re-forming in new geometrical perfectability other and more chaste affections, that shall be consistent with the configuration of his coming symmetrical being:

## CHAPTER XIII.

## FIRST, WHAT IS CAUSALITY?

"THE philosopher Zeno was of opinion that the sun, being fiery, is either like that fire which is requisite to the use of, or unto that which is contained in, the bodies of living creatures; but this our fire, which the use of life requireth, is a consumer of all things, disturbeth and dispatcheth all things. On the contrary, the other is corporeal, vital, and salutary; it converteth all things; it *nourisheth, increaseth, sustaineth, and affecteth with sense*; therefore, saith he, *there's no question to which of these fires the sun is like, for he causeth all things to flourish and sprout up, according to their several kinds.*"

. . . Anaxagorus believed the sun to be a burning plato or stone, many times bigger than Peloponnesus."—*Stanley*. Finlayson says that the tail of the comet is the head. "In the origin of heat we find that the flame ascended. . . The flame of a comet goes before the wind it floats and flies in; consequently it must be the head, and not the tail. The flame of the candle is called the top, not the bottom, and the flame goes with the wind; consequently, it never can go against it." \*

"Inclusus variis famulatur spiritus astris,  
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus."

The spirit within ministers to the various stars,  
And animates the living work with regular movements.

Would not caloric in vitality be more comprehensive than spirit? We find the term *animate* used before the sense becomes complete.

"EVERY MOLECULE OR PARTICLE OF THE SUN'S MATTER IS AS PERFECT AS HIS OWN BODY; like the sun itself, it has a pole or axis, one end of which has the power of repulsion, or galvanism, the other that of attraction, or electricity." †

\* "Vital Principles, or Physiology of Man."

† "Vital Principles," p. 37.



Dr. Prout also says that "the powers of gravitation, inertia, and attraction, appear to be associated, and to reside in *every individual atom of matter in the universe*: hence every atom mutually attracts, and is attracted by every other atom."

Hebrew also would have to express Spirit by רֶחַק (wind). It seems only to have been called Spirit by the Latins, who have been very undefined in their renderings. They have given Spiritus, wind or air, a variety of meanings, which do not seem to be authenticated by the Greeks nor by the Hebrews.

I think we shall find that spirit was not used until Bacchus discovered wine from the juice of the grape. Bacchus, who was the son of Jupiter and Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was sometimes represented as an old man, not to encourage the drink of wine, but to deter us from its use in excess—"to teach us that wine taken immoderately will consume our health, render us *loquacious and childish*, and make us unable to keep secrets."\* The ephemeral physical gratification that was first felt by the use of fermented liquors, caused the inventor to be deified as a youth, because of the joys he introduced at feasts; but when its use in excess was discovered to operate injuriously, he was also represented in ludicrous, staggering attitudes and processions, leaning on the shoulders of Pan.

Pan signifies all, or everything; hence Pantheism (*παν θεός* all is God, or God is all). It supposes God and nature, or God and the whole universe, to be *one and the same substance*—one universal being.

Aristotle used a better term than either Physics or Metaphysics, Pantheism or Ontology. He called the science *philosophia prima*, and defined it *Scientia entis quatenus entis*, i.e., the science of the essence of things; the science of the attributes and conditions of being in general.

Wolf divided metaphysics into four parts—ontology, psychology, rational cosmology, and theology. His philosophy was chiefly abstract inquiries into possibility, necessity, and contin-

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\* Lemprière's "Classical Dictionary,"—Art. *Bacchus*.

gency—substances, accident, cause, &c., without reference to the laws of our intellect, by which we are constrained to believe in them.

Kant denied that we had any knowledge of substance or cause as really existing.

Men's souls are only modifications of the Divine substance. "Panthæistæ qui contendunt unicam esse;"\* "substantiam cujus partes sunt omnia entia quæ existent."†

Mysticism and idealism, tend to Pantheism. Mysticism, whether religious or philosophical, ends with resolving mind and matter into the Divine substance. The idealism of Berkeley and Malebranche may be said to reduce material existences to mere phenomena of the mind.‡

Spiritualism seems to be a doctrine not defined or understood, but is intended to acquaint us with mediums, or beings which are not cognizable by the senses. Yet physical spirit is immensely cognizable to the senses; and least of any term should be used to represent invisibility, or insensible contact.

Let us be honest, and use the term Wind, or air, which is the true rendering of the word Spirit, as it receives its derivation from Greek and Hebrew; and instead of using the terms of spirit rappings and spirit mediums, we will use the correct rendering, and say, wind rapping and windy mediums; because, in doing so, we shall betray the absurdity of using the term "spirit" in any such applications.

Now, how does this term, "wind," apply to scriptural phraseology? In the Athanasian Creed, we are said to worship one God—the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Rendering this honestly, it signifies the Godhead of the First Cause, and that of causality, and that of the holy wind or the holy air; for certainly any other rendering is a mysticism. The Holy Spirit (from *Spiritus Sanctus*) is nothing more nor less than the sanctified wind; and all the sacerdotes

\* Waterland, Works. Vol. viii. p. 81.

† Lacondre, Instit. Philosoph. Tom. ii. p. 120.

‡ Dict. des Sciences Philosoph.

that ever licked and kissed Peter's great toe, never could make anything else of it. That which comes to their rescue is not air, but *Paracletus, the Comforter*. We must then be honest, and say that the comforting wind is the third person of Divinity. I like the comforting wind. But of course that which is analogous to the comforting wind is what is meant; and that may be easily conceived to be a comforting influence, a comforting vitality, that shall be benign and harmonious with First Principles—a glory grateful in reception and expression. The *Spiritus Sanctus Paracletus*, then, is the Comforting Holy Wind, which we yet hope to realize, and which would be better expressed in the words, the Comforting Purity of Divine Vitality. The word, sanctity (*sanctitas*), is certainly uprightness, inviolability, honesty, good, chastity, purity; and I would prefer using either of these terms, than the term “holy,” simply because it is better defined, and partakes less of conventionality.

I have said *we yet have the hope to realize the comforting purity of vitality*. Without being influenced by the Jewish persuasion, I am allowed to ask, Who is there of human creation inviolably upright enough, wise and good enough, chaste and pure enough, to say, with assurance, that he has realized the comforting, pure vitality? Christ doubtless has; but I know of none others that have realized it, either in kings or people. History has not recorded many impurities belonging to some great men; but impurities and iniquities abound among the professors of Christianity and Mahometanism: hence, I repeat, we yet have to realize this promised perfectibility; and I consider the cause of our not doing so is much more clearly illustrated in plain unconventional terms than otherwise. The vessel is not yet clean enough to receive purity and vitality: purity and iniquity are heterogeneous qualities, and never unite. Hence it appears that the cause of the comforting pure life not having been realized, is *man*—the recipient not having been made chaste enough to become a receiver of purity.

I have no respect for priests nor people that call themselves holy, much less for the canonical fraternity; for before I can

reverence them that call themselves holy, I must first know that they are pure.

Now, I consider, if we abandoned the term "holy," and used the term "purity," how very few would have the audacity to call themselves pure.

The late Pope Gregory XVI., with his big blue bottle-nose, for instance, to be called Gregory the Pure; or Father Matthew called Matthew the Pure; or our bishops, prebends, or incumbents called pure. Let no man be called pure, I say; simply because he is not pure, be he pope, father, or bishop: then call no man holy, for none are holy that are not pure. Hence Jews may be as right as Christians in their coming Messiah, if they mean that the vital principle of purity has not yet come into man. Let the best man that ever lived, or that now lives, stand forth and call himself pure, in sincerity and honesty of assertion. First, let him recount the impure acts of his life, and let him estimate every motive guiding his every act of life. Motive is the primary mover of action; and let every man first know that every motive is unselfish before he can say it is pure. Come again, O Diogenes! come again in search of this searce specimen of creation; for be well sure, when thou hast found this *rara avis*, thou wilt find lying beside him the philosopher's stone.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### EQUALS ILLUSTRATED BY EUCLID.

How might the axioms of Euclid be made a practice of daily life, when viewed analogically? Let us see. "If equals be added to equals, the wholes are equals." What moral teaching do we derive from this axiom? Were justice made the rule of life, how soon would injustice disappear from the earth.



That part of the Divine injunction, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," is in harmonious correspondence with this.

Also, "If equals be taken from equals, the remainders are equal." How does this teach us the right order of division? While we subtract the half from the whole, the two halves are equal; as in the seventh axiom: "Things which are halves of the same are equal to each other." This does indeed demonstrate, that were we all to do unto the neighbour as we would be done unto, all would be on an harmonious equality; the departure from which may truly be said was and is *the fall of man*: so, "If unequals be taken from equals, the remainders are unequal." The selfishness of man, requiring one atom more than his neighbour, makes his neighbour's position unequal—that is, he has less than himself. Hence has arisen, in multiplied events, the enormous discrepancies in the possessors of wealth, which neither in the excess nor in the privation is conducive to happiness, because it is a departure from the great elementary law.

Though man depart from this law, he cannot destroy it, but he destroys himself; and but for the forbearance of the Omnibeneficent, he would sink even deeper than he does into iniquity and misery. Were it not for this elementary law operating upon the soul of man, constraining his unequal, unjust, and selfish propensity, man's own wild career would be self-destruction, in the very effort he is making towards that which he would make himself believe was self-preservation; because everything unjustly obtained, however much it might be desired, and thought to contribute to enjoyment and happiness, must be subversive to both, opposed as it is to the elementary, fundamental law operating upon the soul—opposed as it is, therefore, to the axiom, "The whole is greater than its part." Integrity, wholly so, is greater than when partially so; opposed as it is, also, to the Divinity, or perfection itself. First Principles are, then, founded on what the axiom proves—"The whole is greater than a part."



## CHAPTER XV.

## INJUSTICE TO OTHERS IS INJUSTICE TO OURSELVES.

INJUSTICE to others does injury to ourselves, in all that is truly valuable and eternal, because it blemishes the soul—dwarfs it; hence, according to the elementary law, having its entirety destroyed, the part remaining is less than the whole. *Medicat animum Virtus*," I say here, and everywhere, and with everyone. 'Tis virtue cures the soul; and if the soul be cured, the great work of earth is accomplished. I look upon man on this earth as rough material, sent here to be worked up, and polished for some other life after this existence ceases. This world is a means to an end, and must be regarded only as such.

All right lines drawn from the centre to the circumference are equal to each other. The centre is analogous to that which is the centre of the soul—mental heat or love; the right lines are the radiations, the illuminations of the mind, the enlightenment of intelligence: hence, when wisdom is the irradiation of love, or the emanation of charity, fairness, and integrity, its truths are the manifestations, equal one to another.

As the spiritual sun of heaven is pure, so its emanations are holy, its influence benign, in filling the soul with joy and happiness; but verging from this benign influence is diverging from the right lines: the mind is o'ershadowed, the heart is not warmed with good; but hate takes the place of love, and the obscurity of selfish and narrow scheming displaces illumined wisdom.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE ELEMENTARY CONSTITUENT.

THE elementary law is the Law of all laws,—the most important. It is the sphere in which the soul dwells, and receives its incentives to action : it is the primary life, moving all things into activity : no man nor thing is, nor ever can be, independent of it. The soul's elementary sphere is pure and perfect in its regulated operations, boundless in its extent, immaculate in its deeds, unerring in its magnitude of infinity ; as its influences comprehend the heavens, so simultaneously it comprehends the systems of the earth. None can escape its influences. While vain man, in vaunted boast, assumes a reckless air of self-sufficiency, hath not enough of thought to know that he is but an atom scarcely worth a mention. None can flee from its presence—to attempt it is folly ; and some day it will appear like madness. In all good acts it is present, and in all bad acts 't is not absolutely absent ; for it is there striving to withdraw man from evil ; 't is ever present, ever wise, and ever good,—the *Omnis in omnibus*—the All in all—the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last—who ever was, is, and ever will be.

This is the sphere of the soul which I call the elementary law, because it is ever forming and framing souls ; and through them is ever forming and framing bodies.

The elementary constituent is constant in its operations upon man ; but individuals who most improve their opportunities of doing good, are inconstant in their acts of good ; whilst spheres are constantly emanating from our souls, influencing others, beneficially or otherwise, according to the quality of the sphere. The sphere of a benevolent man has a goodly influence all around. The sphere of kindness and amiability, genuinely existing, has an acceptable influence wherever it is present.

A rightly constituted mind feels happy in company with such spheres, whilst the possessor is happy in the communication of his influence, in proportion to the reception it obtains. He becomes less happy in its negation, from the presence of spheres uncongenial to himself. Now how clearly does this illustrate the elementary law operating upon us, which is ever constant, invariable in its benevolent, kind, and goodly influences towards us; but which by some is regarded with indifference amounting to negation. If man be happy finding himself received, can we not learn how happy is Divinity, when, in his elementary sphere, he is received in the virtuous soul.

If man live in obedience to the dictates of this elementary law, the thoughts and affections of his soul diffuse themselves even into heavenly societies and spheres, and are there received as grateful odours, which reflect and revert back again upon the man himself in multiplied powers of operation and goodly influences; thrice benign in its influences, just as the delight of goodness increases in proportion to the practice of it.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### METALLURGY.

METALLURGY is subject to geometrical laws constituting its varieties and effects. Metallic particles have their forms, positions, and motions, according to their geometrical conditions. Swedenborg says in his theory,\*—

“In the whole sphere there is nothing that produces varieties, but a peculiar mechanism and practical geometry. By mechanism and geometry is nature bound in all the varied phenomena she displays, and in all the distinctive experiments with which she

\* “Principles of Natural Philosophy,” p. 133.

endows us. Let us, however, confess that in researches of this kind the mind of the inquirer is peculiarly liable to illusion: the imaginary may be easily mistaken for the true, and the shadow for the substance; especially as in the field the objects are purely mental, and the mind and the inner eye are the only organs of vision. Yet since we find that all things have laws, that experiments are under the empire of geometry, the mechanism of invisibles may rest on the basis of calculation, and partake its infallibility."

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### FIRST PRINCIPLES ILLUSTRATED BY THE ANALOGY OF METALLURGY.

METALLURGY in itself forms analogical instructions for all men, in all ages. The art of working metals, or separating them from their ore, is an art which all men have to acquire—is a moral which all should keep constantly before their eyes, and has always been symbolized in the sacred writings.

The elementary law operating upon the soul can be seen in its orderly workings, by the affinity and gravitation with which metals and metaloids furnish us beautiful examples. Whether that affinity be a mechanical or a chemical formation—whether geometrical laws constitute their arrangement, or chemical combination, it will not interfere with the universal law, which applies equally to the geometrical position as to the chemical motion. I shall leave their chemical consideration specifically to the after remarks, and now consider metallurgy only, as its chemistry will facilitate our inquiry.

The term "simple bodies" must only be understood to refer to their atomic structure, so far as our present scientific researches enable us to discover their elements. In using, then, the

chemical classification and nomenclature, let us understand that the terms "simple" and "compound" are convenient terms : as also are the terms "metals" and "metaloids."

There are metals which are electro-negative, and metaloids which are electro-negative ; there are, also, metals which are electro-positive ; there are simple bodies, and metals so classified that each one is electro-negative to that by which it is followed, and electro-positive to that by which it is preceded.

Some divide simple-bodied metaloids into supporters of *combustion* and *combustibles*. Here again we recognize another universal law : the *written order in nature* revealing unto man the good and wise Creator. All things in the universe are the exponents of causality, and are found by investigation to be correlative with order. In the bowels of the earth has God laid before man his revelation of himself ; and in looking into these two revelations, we shall see the constant analogy to the soul. Unfortunately, in turning to the volume of nature, we find our senses and powers of vision and discernment are only human, and therefore not perfect ; we can only investigate the perfect, ourselves being imperfect. We can gaze upon the beautiful landscape and enjoy the scenery, but we can only take an imperfect copy, which never fully portrays the original.

Our power of discernment is a true and real power when in order, but when self-sufficient, when emanating from a low-minded man, it is ever subject to error. The science of analogy and correspondence assists the mind to understand, by higher faculties than the natural senses, the harmony of the word of creation and the written word ; but neither science nor knowledge alone is sufficient to perceive the harmony of the whole. Man must do and obey the law. It is not enough that the universal law is right in relation to him, but he must be right in relation to the law ; the daily *doing and daily obedience to the divine law* alone will improve man's condition, and near the earthly paradise. Our senses will ever deceive us, without the universal law, operating upon the soul, enlightening the mind. "God is ever felt according as we ourselves are ; the evil man



always feels Causality to be a severe and dread master, swift to punish and slow to forgive ; for with the froward he will show himself froward. It is only to the pure in heart and good in health—to such as live a life of justice, sincerity, and love—that Causality and the universal law can be seen to be loving the whole of the human race.”\*

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE NATURE OF METALLOIDS ANALAGOUS TO MAN IN NATURE.

How beautifully do earthly bodies illustrate the nature of man ! Each body is electro-negative to that by which it is followed, and electro-positive to that by which it is preceded. How like man in his relation to man : he is negative to what is below him, and positive to that which is above him, or the reverse. Again, if he be positive to the right, he is negative to the wrong ; or, to use the Scripture phraseology, “No man can serve two masters.” Here we see, physically, he cannot. If he be positive to the wrong, he is negative to the right.

It has been quaintly said by Guizot, that “every man is aristocratic to those below him, but *democratic* to those above him ;” and this is true as far as nature regulates the man uncontrolled, and not under the guidance of instructions and wisdom. The will fully illustrates this phenomenon : it is ever for or against, *whether right or wrong* ; the will asserts its right of choice most perseveringly and unhesitatingly. The will never stops to consider the right or the wrong ; but the mind, her consort, steps in to her rescue, exercises the organ of comparison, and judges, and then either denies or affirms. Hudibras

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\* “Intellectual Repository,” p. 186.

well knew the unchangeable nature of the will, which, though possessed by both sexes, yet is the characteristic principle of women.

“He that complies against his will,  
Is of his own opinion still.”

This can be illustrated by action and re-action ; the will acts, the mind re-acts ; both are necessary and dependent on the other ;—the mind must have the will to act upon, the will must have the mind to be re-acted upon, or it runs riot. The will is the motive power, the mind is the conductor of that power. The will has its negative and positive polarity—is ever *pro* or *con* ; while the mind can dispassionately compare and estimate, prior to adoption or rejection ; hence the evident necessity of calling in the mind to re-act before coming to decisions, or forming fixed opinions. When the will can see her own destitution, her own insufficiency, her own singleness of position, because she is not yet pure enough she desires to be united to her consort, the mind ; her love then marries the wisdom she feels the want of, which is spiritual marriage. Her wisdom then reacts ; passions and impulses are made to halt, and instead of returning evil for evil, wisdom says, Return good for evil. No re-action of revenge, no ill-will, is to actuate the spirit ; that would be the re-action not of wisdom but of malice ; a false spirit, an adulterous union. Wisdom says, “ Evil has in itself its own punishment and corrective power, as good has within itself its own reward and beatitude ; good never punishes evil, but evil punishes itself. This is effected by the law of action and re-action, which in the world of spirits is universal, and was represented in the Jewish church by an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.”\* The same law is universal in respect to the physical phenomena in the natural world. There are three things which follow each other in unbroken succession—action, re-action, and result, or effect.

As metaloids are combustibles and supporters of combustion,

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\* “ Intellectual Repository,” p. 205.

so is man and the various component parts of him which constitute his nature. But without entering into the physical, we will take the two leading characteristics of his nature—viz., volition, and mind. Volition is analogous to the combustible, and mind to that of the supporter of combustion. Volition is the active, the mind is the re-active. As oxygen is a supporter of combustion, so the mind re-acts upon volition—conducts it aright, supports it, sustains it. As oxygen is strictly pure from hydrogen, so is it a greater and more powerful supporter of combustion. So is it with the mind, when filled with the pure light of wisdom, when its truths have become pure. Volition is then supported aright. Hence we may learn from stocks and stones—from the minerals of the earth—how to live aright, and see Causality—God—in all His works; and learn to see how his *omniscient* mind, which is purity itself, controls all volition, heavenly and earthly, by immutable laws of order; but breaking through this law of order is revolution and corruption; hence all the miseries that have befallen man.

Reflection upon these analogies should inspire us to obtain this strength of mind, this purity of wisdom, in order to the attainment of a purer power. In man, the mind (the male) would then become the fit consort for his fair spouse, the will; who could then entrust her volition to the support of her mental husband, to be sustained and guided aright.

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## CHAPTER XX.

THE PROCESS OF PURIFYING A LOW METAL, SUCH AS IRON, IS ANALOGOUS TO THE MEANS NECESSARY IN PURIFYING MAN IN HIS LOW CONDITION, VIZ.—IN UNCULTIVATED NATURE.

TAKE the analysis of a metallic ore, that of iron, for instance; or the assay, which is still more simple. We find this assay might be effected with heat alone, having a proper slag and a

blast smelting-furnace. This heat, then, corresponds to the love of good, purifying and separating all that it comes in contact with from its impurities; accomplishing the work partly with its own intensity of heat, and partly with its slag, which is a compound of silica, lime, and alumina. We find the mind is made of components. Reasoning is one faculty, reflection another, calculation another, &c. &c.; all which are necessary to be exercised when love's intensity is to be active. When our affections require purifying from their crudities, the intelligence of the mind is called in, in order to instruct.

In taking the ANALYSIS of the iron ore, we find heat alike indispensable: we find it is necessary, in the first place, in order to expel the water of absorption from the ore. Water corresponds to truths; but as it forms but a small per-centage—say only seventeen per cent.—it is well to remove it altogether for the present, lest it become contaminated with the acids (which are afterwards introduced). Water in the ore would also correspond to falses, which would have to be removed before the purity can be obtained. In the next place, acids are introduced, such as muriatic and nitric acids, which are necessary in order to render soluble the iron; and thus is the pure metal held in solution, *clear as water, and quite as limpid*. Then water is introduced, and the iron is taken up, which, after filtration, becomes clear, as before described. The acids correspond to truths mixed with falses. Iron is natural truth; consequently, the natural knowledge and the natural light of man. Iron, from its hardness, signifies what is strong. Iron also means truth in ultimates, which is called sensual truth; which, when it is separated from rational and spiritual truth, is converted into falsehood. At this stage, then, we have the iron—the natural truth—taken up by the acids—the truths mixed with the falses; because the iron—*i.e.*, the natural truth, also called the sensual truth—has an affinity naturally for acids—*i.e.*, truths mixed with falses: it enters into combination with them. Is this not natural to the natural man, until this natural become connected with the rational and the spiritual teaching?

The combinations with the acids represent the dangerous first light that dawns upon the mind of man. How freely it lays hold of the first change! The little learning is the dangerous thing. Unconnected with the rational, spiritual, and philosophical truth, it becomes converted into falsehood.

It became necessary that the iron should receive the acids, in order that an entire separation from the dross should be effected: the acid is the proximate medium of solution. It would be useless employing a higher class material than the acid, because the iron would not lay hold of it—would not appreciate anything more refined at this stage.

*Mark the analogy throughout.* It is necessary that the natural truth (iron) should receive truths mixed with falses (acids), in order that a discrimination should be acquired by which a separation should be effected of the false from the true—the dross from the iron. The acid is the proximate medium of solution—*i.e.*, truth mixed with falses is the proximate medium of conveying truth to the natural man, because it is all that the natural man can appreciate. It would be useless employing a higher and more refined medium of instruction; it would not be received. At first, the natural capacity could not grasp it, just as the child must learn its letters before it can learn to read; it would be alike useless to place the Sacred Word, or the History of Rome, before a child, until it has first learned its letters, by which it is taught to read.

Iron having then voraciously laid hold of (acids) truths of a low degree mixed with falses, the removal of these (acids) falses is the next thing necessary. This is generally a difficulty, because it is parting with one's own vitality; a superior power is necessary, therefore, in order to effect the end in view, which, however, justifies such means. An excess of ammonia is thrown into the solution, which precipitates the iron in the form of a peroxide of iron, which may then be collected on a filter, washed, dried, ignited, and weighed.



## CHAPTER XXI.

THIS ILLUSTRATES HOW FAR MAN CAN BE GOVERNED BY FIRST PRINCIPLES.

MAN, in his low condition, has greater affinity for truths mixed with falses: must he, therefore, be governed by falses? If so, falses are not First Principles; and it would appear that he should not be governed by First Principles; and thus our legislators would be exonerated from any charge, when they mix up false means in order to govern a false people.

How does this square with justice?

First of all, let us examine what is false. Is that false which has for its object direct or indirect good? Where the end and object is good, the means of accomplishing it are justifiable, provided the end be strictly carried out through those means. An accommodation of mediums is undoubtedly compatible with the Divinity, since the Word itself is an accommodation of divine wisdom, reduced to the capacities of man. In this, the end is to undeceive and to elevate. A very different and distinct degree exists between the Word, and many of the operations of our corrupt form of government, which seeks not to accommodate itself to the capacities of the intelligence of the day, but rather to elude and to ignore the existence of intelligence among the many, and persists in calling them by what they were centuries ago,—vassals of servitude to the rich, or to the lord. But the intelligence of the people has risen above that condition, and no longer discovers superior intelligence among the rich, nor among the lords; but often discovers excessive vices, which always attend indolence and idleness. So that any excuse our Government might attempt to make for not governing upon First Principles, on account of the depravity of ignorance, is false; themselves, though educated, are the most corrupt in principle and practice, their evils far exceeding those of the industrious of the country.

Let us examine how far Divinity acts upon First Principles. First, we can have no conception of Divinity if we be not pure in motive, as He is boundless in extent of means, immaculate in deeds, unerring in His magnitude of operation ; yet Divinity employs mediums out of and away from Himself. These cannot be perfectly pure, since none are absolutely pure or perfect but Himself : but His employing imperfect means does not render the end and object less pure, nor based less upon First Principles. The object pure justifies the means that are accommodated to surrounding circumstances.

Our Government and our Church make a great mistake on this point. They have substituted selfish objects and ends, and supposed themselves justified because, in the case of crime, the means employed are necessarily corrective. Punishment is not pleasant, but is necessary as a means to an end—the good object in view ; but punishment unnecessarily protracted is bad ; or selfishly inflicted, though by authority, is iniquitous.

To withhold from man his rightful title to a voice in the legislature, is not right nor just ; nor can it be exercised upon the grounds of means accommodating an end—viz., as for the sake of order and provision for State requirements ; because the industrious man is further on proved to be a more willing contributor to the State and Governmental necessities than are the idle and titled rich, who have ingeniously laid the greater part of the burden of taxation upon industry, artfully exempting their own capital, while they lay on the incomes of the industrious the tax which they themselves seek to avoid. There are no First Principles here, neither in object nor practice.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

BECAUSE A CORRECTIVE IS NECESSARY, ARE FIRST PRINCIPLES  
NOT NECESSARY ?

AMMONIA is a corrective power, superior to that of the acid which it separates from the iron. The components of liquid ammonia are strictly corrective, having in its composition the chlorate, in the hydrochlorate of ammonia, both of which are disinfectants. It is so volatile that it wholly evaporates by heat, in alkaline vapours. The iron, then, corresponding to natural truth, having laid hold of its acid, or its proximate truths mixed with falses, is ready after filtration (*i.e.*, is ready after that has been removed which is extraneous to itself, such as are the silica, and the alumina, &c., which the filter separates, but which could not be separated until the iron had been liquefied by the acid, and thus rendered sufficiently limpid to pass through the filter) ; the iron is then ready to receive a higher influence, corresponding to what the natural mind is capable of receiving when certain dangerous compounds of our nature require rectification and removal. There are in our compositions certain provisions of our nature, and certain falsifications of our mind, which, like the air, require separation and removal ; and before this can be effected, the principle itself must be arrested, in order, first, that all things extraneous to itself should be removed, and then, afterwards, that the quality and the quantity of the principle should be ascertained. Special care will be seen to be manifested in Divine providence, that before any new and better truth should be adopted, a removal of much of the evil and the false must take place ; otherwise a provocation would take place, and a falsification, which would leave the issue in a worse state than before ; so that “ the last state of that man would be worse than the first.”

Having, then, gone through the necessary preparation, the

ore is now ready to receive the action of a superior influence—viz., ammonia ; which at once separates it, and precipitates the iron ; which precipitate, when washed, filtered, ignited, and weighed, shows the proportion of iron. The synopsis then is, that man having gone through the necessary preparation in his primary condition, becomes a fit recipient of a superior influence, which waits no longer than to have accomplished this prior separation of the lower or primary qualities ; thus comes a further separation of that which was used as a means of primary instruction, but which was only the introductory instruction. This further separation enables man to arrive at a higher order of existence ; which, when the further washing and purification of the internal man take place, prepares him to go through the fire of tribulation again and again, in order to fit him for a still higher condition, and a quality less alloyed ; which admits of a clearer estimation of that heavenly quality which constitutes man's better nature. This is *the book of life*, wherein is recorded, *in propria personâ*, whatever be the improvement of our condition, or on the contrary, whatever be the declension of our condition ; the qualitative and quantitative stands forth in bold *prima faciâ* evidence ; which is all that clearly portrays the true man ; the inward expressing itself in the outward, not in type only but in its own reality. This is the book of life. In this world the separation of one impurity from another, by the introduction of proximate affinities, constitutes life progressive, and the opposite is the introduction of one impurity after another ; the introduction of proximate impure affinities constitutes life retrogressive ; hence we see that our relation to that which is introduced regulates the adoption of it or not, according to whether it suits us or not. Hence we see the importance of looking at our own condition to see the relation which we bear to that which is calculated to make us happy—to enable us to enjoy life truly, by enjoying life rightly. To hold ourselves in right relation is to cultivate the pure, *for as men are pure, so they are happy*, when the body has pure health. Were society pure enough, society might be general enough ; but

when selfishness and pride enter the social circle, they destroy that which would otherwise be a benefit and a gratification. This may be expressed in other words—negative and positive relations.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE ELEMENTAL, DISTINCT IN DEGREE FROM THE PHYSICAL AND FUNCTIONAL.

SULPHUR is an elective attraction and a combustible, combines with oxygen in different proportions. The proportions in forming acids are four—the hypo-sulphurous acid, as the less oxygenated; the sulphurous acid, the more; the hypo-sulphuric acid, still more; the sulphuric acid, the most oxygenated. Here we have an analogy replete with moral instruction. Taking sulphur as the combustible, analogous to volition, and oxygen analogous to intelligence in the mind, we find strength to increase according to the increase in the combination of oxygen with sulphur; we have hypo-sulphurous the less strong because the less oxygenated; whilst we have the sulphuric, the most strong because the most oxygenated. Is not this analogy forcibly striking. Volition is strengthened by the mind, the will is invigorated as the mind combines with it—as it receives the mind—takes it up as its own; hence love is espoused by her wisdom, and increases in strength as its combination is complete and replete, and must go on increasing in vigour in proportion as the infilment of one into the other is complete. It is thus rendered useful for the requirements of life, and can be more correctly applied and more rightly measured in its adaptations.

The will is the less strong as it is unsupported by the mind, that is, the will of good; and this must not be confounded with passion, and the will in nature's apparently crude distortions.



There is the animal strength of will, the very opposite to the intellectual will, to which acids correspond in the very opposites, the very antipodes of each other. The animal will has strength, but this strength is in perverted tendencies; *the law of self* regulating every action; self-preservation, the best of all lower motives wherein there is no mind brought to bear on her instinctive nature. But when a cultivation of the will commences, its strength is in proportion to the ascendancy the mind has over her, in regulating and guiding her aright; hence the use of instruction. The will is a combustible, and the mind is a supporter of combustion; the hypo-sulphure, the less useful, unsupported by the oxygen—the mind; the sulphuric, the most beneficial and useful, the most oxygenated, or the most supported by intelligence, or by Divine Wisdom, infilling the mind of man. When we speak of the mind of man, we allude to it as a developer, supporter, and sustainer, but not the originator, not the initiator. That antecedent is the primary producer; “no physical force can be the primary mover, as physics are now denominated,” as Grove says; “no physical force can, strictly speaking, be initial; there must be some anterior force which produced it.” So long as Divine influx continues, action and reaction continue, and the vital force is manifest.

This antecedent, then—the spirit pervading all nature—is not analogous to the mind; for the Spirit Divine is co-equal in all its attributes, co-equal in love and co-equal in wisdom and power. The mind is circumscribed and unequal in all these essential qualities; but the analogy is strictly correct between the *mind* and the *oxygen* of the air; the mind does not comprehend volition, neither does oxygen comprehend nitrogen, but both are essential to production and reproduction.

The spirit initial, this anterior power, this vital stimulus, has always been worshipped according to the estimation people of various countries and ages have had of the good and the truth, or the love and the wisdom, or power of this triad, anterior vitality. The benevolence of the Creator was portrayed in the works of his creation, by Hitchcock, page 170.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

SUPREME BENEVOLENCE INTERFERES EVEN WITH THE LAWS  
OF NATURE, AS SEEN IN GRAVITATION.

ALL nature is seen to be under Divine control; even the earth's creation, with her mighty laws, are made to subserve the purpose of use for man. Geology, in her metallic compounds, illustrates this fact.

It may be seen that man's requirements are never lost sight of in creation; the Omega is ever in the Alpha, and *vice versa*, in all the works of God; even in the hard rocks, veins, and ores of creation.

"I derive a fourth geological argument for the benevolence of the Deity, from the manner in which the metallic ores are distributed through the earth's crust.

"It can hardly be doubted by the geologist, that nearly every part of the earth's crust, and its interior too, have been some time or other in a melted state. Now as the metals and their ores are usually heavier than other rocks, we should expect that they would have accumulated at the centre of the globe, and have been enveloped by the rocks, so as to have been for ever inaccessible to man. And the very great weight of the central parts of the earth—almost twice that of granite—leads naturally to the conclusion that the heavier metals may be accumulated there; though this is by no means a certain conclusion, since at the depth of thirty-four miles, air would be so condensed by the pressure of the superincumbent mass, as to be as heavy as water. Water at the depth of three hundred and sixty-two miles would become as heavy as quicksilver; and at the centre, steel would be compressed into one-fourth, and stone into one-eighth of its bulk at the surface. Still it is most probable that the materials naturally the heaviest would first seek the centre. And yet, by means of sublimation, and expansion by internal heat, or the segregating power of galvanic action, or of some other agents, enough of the metals is protruded towards the

surface, and diffused through the rocks in beds or veins, so as to be accessible to human industry. Here, then, we find Divine Benevolence, apparently in opposition to gravity, providing for human comfort."

Some ages and some churches have esteemed the good, and have not regarded the wisdom; others have regarded the wisdom, and not the good. This language itself proves and teaches man's dependence upon some Power as far superior to himself as light is from darkness.

## CHAPTER XXV.

THE ELEMENTARY GOOD AND TRUE SEEN IN ALL AGES, IN VARIOUS ASPECTS, VARYING ACCORDING TO INTELLIGENCE.

WE find names have been given to the Spirit Divine, according to their mode of comprehension or estimation. There are two principal expressions in the old Indian, or Sanscrit, the one relating to the Divine good, or love; the other to the Divine truth, or wisdom.\* Thus the Germanic Gott, is our English God; Gothic, Guth; Persian, Kudha; Sanscrit, Kudhas; signifying, pure, innocent, good; which is derived from the verb *kudh*, to purify, to render good, &c. This kudh re-appears, indeed, in the Greek *Kath-apòs*, pure; and likewise in *ἀγαθός* good. Thus God = good; and Gothic guth, = gut *ἀ-γαθός*; good and purity is here meant by all. In the Greek and Romanic languages, the Latin Deus, the Spanish Dios, Italian Dieu, Greek Θεός and Δεός;—di, is here the syllable common to all; so also in divus, and the like form in our English word "Divine," &c. These are all derived from the other Sanscrit word for God, Divas (and Devas), which is derived from the verb, *dio*, to lighten, to spread light, to be luminous, clear, &c.

In different ages and countries, we have this analogous

distinction still maintained and sustained; there is the verb *kudh*, to render pure and good—their God, *kudhas*; there is also their God, *Divas*, to spread light;—that is, they have their *Kudhas*, the good, and *Divas*, the luminous—the wisdom: the first having relation to that which should fill the heart and the affections—the love; the latter keeping up the other relation to the mind, enlightening it—the luminous—spreading light; the wisdom of the First Cause.

In fact, language need not be alluded to; the whole of the works of creation—the chemical, the vegetable, and the animal, as well as the human—bear testimony to this grand duad, which in its proceeding operation on man, is said to be a triad; because the triad is the duad in operation, which is the unad in the Divinity. The Deity, therefore, is manifested to man in three essential attributes. Let us see some natural illustrations of this.

Metaloids enter into combination without forming acids. We have the proto-chloride of mercury, or the bichloride of mercury, wherein the same analogy can be traced, and illustrations deduced for the instruction of man. Whether we take the bowels of the earth or the surface of it, everywhere God is all in all. The earth mirrors forth His greatness—His ineffable wisdom. The unerring Chemist! the Immaculate Mathematician! He is the unerring Philosopher, the Divine Geometrician, the Founder and Sustainer of the millions of earths in the universe, ordering their revolutions: the true Theologian, Infinite in all and everything, because he is infinite in goodness and wisdom; the Benevolent Father.

The only thing man can with safety be proud of is, that he was made by God; but even then he must be as proud of his neighbour if poor, since he was also made by the same Elementary Causality.

There are many non-oxygenated binary compounds; Hydrogen and Chlorine have also properties in combination to form acids, called like Oxygen, Fluo-silicic acid, Chloro-phosphoric acid, Chloro-hydric acid, or Hydro-chloric acid, or Muriatic acid—from *Muria*, or sea salt;—all capable of the same analogies and

furnishing similar illustrations of the grandeur in the conception of the God of Chemistry ; merely bearing in mind that the prefixes Proto, Deuto, Trito, Sub, Hypo, &c., are only quantitative terminology, and do not interfere with the correspondence of the radical, as the Proto-chloride of Phosphorus, Deuto-chloride, &c.

This quantitative terminology is necessary in human studies, but in the Infinite the terms admit of no application ; because what is Infinite is co-equal ; a division of parts is the measuring medium of man, but the Omnipresent and Omnisicent is the Quantitative and Qualitative *per se*,—is not only the Chemist but the Chemistry.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

RE-FORMATION AND REGENERATION ILLUSTRATED BY CHEMISTRY,  
WHICH FIRST EXPELS THE SPURIOUS, THEN COMBINES.

TAKING Chemistry along with us in producing these analogies, we go so far into the science only as will be familiar to the generality of us.

Salt, a combination of an acid, with a salefiable base, such as ammonia, or a metallic oxide, is a compound of two bodies ; one, acting as an acid, neutralizes the second, which then acts as a salefiable. These salts are divided into two—genera and species ; the genus deriving its name from the acid, and the species from the base—such as the sulphate of soda, or sulphate of protoxide of sodium.

But the plain term, sulphate of soda, leaves the correspondence less complex. Here the sulphuric acid is the *genus* of the *species* soda. The genus, then, is analogous to the mind, or wisdom ; while the species is analogous to the affections, or the will. The mind gives expression to the man or woman,



while the will furnishes the impulse to action. The will requires the mind to guide and direct it aright. The will is constantly acted upon by the mind, wherever there is industry; but indolence is like the alkali without the acid—no action takes place until the acid comes in contact with the alkali. Then we see an action according to the quantity of each; if much, a violent action—effervescing, disengaging, and entering into fresh combination. Is not the history of man strictly analogous to that of this salt? How many hundreds of years has the heart of man remained inert, inactive, in the many branches of science now in operation, because the mind had not conceived it, nor suggested it to the will? The acid had not acted on the alkali; no action ensued. Violent and destructive action, or obstinate inaction, ensues from the excess of either—the acid in excess, or the alkali in excess, or in the concentration of either; the stronger the one or the other, the more violent the action, even to destruction, or inaction, or loss of material. The remedy for which dilution or amalgamation is necessary, to a proper medium state, when it will keep up a mild action, and at the same time enter into combination. The salt—the alkali—will absorb the acid, and form an acetate, or a sulphate; but, before doing so, there is a carbonic acid that must be expelled, which we know is the action, the effervescence. Then there is also oxygen to be expelled—such as will be illustrated by sulphate of soda,  $\text{Na O, SO}_3$ ,—from the sulphuric acid, which is composed of sulphur and oxygen,  $\text{SO}_3$ ; and carbonate of soda—soda and carbonic acid  $\text{Na O, CO}_2$ . In the combination of sulphate of soda, then, something must be rejected: the carbon and the oxygen are expelled—driven off; which we know is the action which occasions the effervescence commonly noticed.

How beautifully analogous is this to the condition of man! Something must always be rejected—must be renounced—before new qualities enter into combination in him. This is constantly going on throughout the life of man in the process of regeneration, commonly called salvation. Our Great Teacher

said, "A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of God." He must "sell all that he hath." Again, "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Without multiplying quotations with which Scripture abounds, we know that we must all reject the evil and the false, before we can receive the good and the true: the one must be expelled before the other can enter into our constitution. We must reject evils as sins, and the false as the untrue, before we can become recipients of the good and the true, the Divine Love and Wisdom.

Violent and destructive action, or inaction, ensues alike in the human nature, from the excess of either. When the mind of man is cultivated in the absence of affection, or when the will is in excess, and the mind unfurnished with the wisdom to control the will, the latter soon merges into passion. Hatred, vengeance, and destruction ensue from the will acting uncontrolled by reason, and intelligence descending from Wisdom Divine. The mind also, uninfluenced by affection, becomes uncharitable, unkind, indifferent to others' wants; coldness and remorselessness enter into the composition of his nature, the very essence of life is destroyed within him, unless he cultivate a union with the affections.

Dilution is necessary when one or the other—the alkali or the acid—is in excess; the medium of dilution is the water, which is analogous to the influence of truth upon the excesses of either the will or the mind. True reason is a term of moderation, corresponding to the medium here mentioned in chemistry as necessary for a mild action, obtained by the introduction of water.

Reason is a medium by which a man reduces the effect to the cause, and deduces one proposition from another, and proceeds from premises to consequences. Water is a medium by which chemicals are reduced—by which the effect is traced to the cause—by which separations are made easy—for the most part, of an analysis by which separations are effected and

divisions multiplied; by deducing one matter from another, and reducing the whole to some of the most original elements that we at present have under denomination.

However paradoxical these correspondences may appear to the superficial observer, they, however, are something more than correspondences; they are *realities*—they are the *realities of creation*, deducible by analogy. If I do very imperfectly foreshadow these great truths, my incapacity must not be mistaken for the *principle itself*. The principle is grand, because it illustrates how the antecedents are lost sight of amid the effects. God has been lost (by man) in his own *great work of creation*, but only for a time. He will sooner or later fully re-appear to the mind.

Protoxides are what give expression to bases of alkalies: as the protoxide of calcium is lime; the protoxide of barium, baryta; the protoxide of sodium, soda; the protoxide of potassium, potash: that is, they are in equal parts—one of oxygen and one of the base; such as one part of oxygen and one part of calcium is lime, &c.; one part of oxygen and one of barium is baryta; one part of oxygen and one of strontium is strontia; the same may be said of the protoxide of sodium, one part of each. How forcibly is the duad analogy here exhibited! Man is only properly so called as he becomes the equable of the good and the true.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

MAN COMPRISES IN HIMSELF THE AGGREGATE OF ALL CREATION, AND HIS HIGHER CHARACTERISTICS ILLUSTRATE FIRST PRINCIPLES; HIS LOWER CHARACTERISTICS ILLUSTRATE PRESENT PERVERSIONS.

MAN, *homo*, or mankind, “quod est ad hominem pertinens,” that belonging to man, was expressed originally by a word which conveyed the idea of gentleness and courteousness, as

“humane” meant friendly, kind, civil, obliging; “humanitas” (humanity) meaning not only human nature, but civility, kindness, good nature; also human learning, liberal knowledge—*παιδεία*, “mansuetudo, facilitas,”—from which we find that man originally was the personification of kindness and learning; and man, of all the objects of creation, should possess both. He unto whom all the living animals of the earth are to be subdued, should certainly be kind as wise, and wise as kind—learned and loveful. Has the world progressed since that remote age? Where is the “humanitas” to be found on our Stock Exchange?

The two chief terms for man in Hebrew have evidently relation to his being an image of the good and the true in the First Great Cause. Adam is derived from a word signifying “redness,” and is expressive of that glowing disposition he should ever have for all that is generous, kind, and good. He should be red, as it were, with the fire of ardent affection for the happiness of others; his cheek should become ruddy, as it were, with the noble wish to promote the blessedness of all around. This is to be a true man, as Adam.

The other name commonly rendered “man” in Hebrew (*Ish*), is derived from a verb which implies that a thing really is. It expresses our relation to the true. Thus the prophet says, “He is a man (*Ish*) who executeth judgment, and doeth the truth.”

The relation of man to the two grand First Principles, the generous and the right, is expressed thus by Adam and “*Ish*,” and never is he truly man until he becomes an image and likeness of the Infinitely Good and the Infinitely Wise.

The Greek term, *Anthropos*, which literally means “he who looks up,” is equally indicative of the great privilege of our nature, to be guided by FIRST PRINCIPLES—to look up.

Language is always inferior to the reality of things; the expression of an idea is necessarily inferior to the idea itself: this arises out of the imperfection of a degenerate nature. There must have been on this earth, or is now in the *spirit* or *superlative condition*, an universal language—shorter, more



comprehensive, and far more perfect, than any external one ; in which not only the meaning, but the *quality of the speaker*, is *comprehended*—an imperfect idea of which is found in the tone of the voice. The good and the kind is sometimes felt in the tone of the expression ; but since dissimulation is practised, the tone does not always indicate the quality.

The hieroglyphics of Egypt but imperfectly convey the conception of the idea intended, because the mind seeks to describe its thoughts by comparisons taken from outward nature—from the outward things familiar to the eye, either from the animal, the vegetable, or the mineral worlds. If, however, we closely analyze language, we cannot fail to see the correspondence of its terms to the things of the earth. We commonly say “ soft as down,” or “ hard as iron,” “ sweet as sugar.” Here are analogies out of the three kingdoms of nature—the animal, the mineral, the vegetable. How futile, too, to attempt to deny these analogies in relation to scriptural correspondence ! They not only are the representation of the man, BUT ARE THE MAN IN THE AGGREGATE. All the things of the earth are given unto man to subdue and to possess.

In his compound nature does man possess their natures in the aggregate ? Is not the unsubdued will, tiger-like ? The capacity of the development of his strength, lion-like ? His power of locomotion, both mental and bodily, horse-like or camel-like ? His combative nature, animal-like, according to one or other form in all the varied tribes ? His loveful nature, in its lower unrefined condition, animal-like in its strictest sense ? Even the faithful characteristic of man is to be seen in that of the dog, beautifully exemplified in its own canine degree and order. What is more faithful, and at the same time more affectionate, than the domestic dog ?



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE INNER SPIRIT, OR SUPERNAL WORLD, THE PRIMARY CAUSE  
OF THE OUTWARD WORLDS OF MATTER.

THIS must be the case, as is evident when we view the primary causes. The inner world of spirit is ever forming the outward world of matter, giving it birth, place, activity, and utility. We see this on a small scale in man ; his thoughts produce his works. The inward spirit, or supernal world, then, not only corresponds, *but is the protoplast, the prototype* of everything earthly ; wherein the great God reigns, creating and governing the myriads of worlds with His providential eye, His all-powerful arm, and His omni-benevolent heart, all co-equal, co-eternal, and co-extensive.

The spirit or causal world, then, ever-forming and transforming, affords to man a self-active power to re-form himself with divine and causal aid, and when re-formed he becomes but an imperfect section of human nature, an image of, but infinitely inferior to, his original inward spirit—Causality. The spirit or causal world can be spoken of not only in relation to man, but to all things of creation, having brought all things into existence, caused all things to stand out in matter ; how can we doubt, then, the correspondence of all things earthly to all things spiritual ? The spirit or supernal world was the primary cause, is the primary cause, and ever will be the primary cause, of all the things, of all the earths, of the universe.

An inquiry is made in the “Intellectual Repository of the New Church,” page 435, “How could the operations of mind in mathematical problems bring out correct results, unless the inner world and its laws answer by analogy to the outward world and its existence ?” Undoubtedly, mathematics are built on correspondences. And if that be so, it is not an ancient error that man is a microcosm, or little world ; but a truth once well known, and though lost to the world for ages it is now restored.

The laws which govern the animal and vegetable world are of more general application, and to us finite beings appear to be wider and more extended in their operations. They are, however, not the less beautiful and magnificent in their analogical adaptations ; they illustrate more vividly the whole scheme of the infinite Creator, and bring to our limited capacities the best impressions of the eternal conception and the infinite wisdom, together with the munificent object of creation, not yet understood.

Zeno recommended resignation. He knew that the laws of the universe cannot be changed by man, and therefore he wished that his disciples should not in prayer deprecate impending calamities, but rather beseech Providence to grant them fortitude to bear the severest trials with pleasure and due resignation to the will of Heaven. An arbitrary command over the passions was one of the rules of his stoicism. To assist our friends in the hour of calamity was our duty, but to give way to childish sensations of petty wants was unbecoming our nature.

Pity, therefore, and anger were to be banished from the heart.

Propriety and decorum were to be the guides in everything.

Zeno, we know, acknowledged only one God, the soul of the universe, which he conceived to be the body ; and therefore he believed that those two together united, the soul and the body, formed one perfect animal.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

## ANALOGY OF THE MIND AND THE BODY IN THEIR APPROPRIATIONS, PRODUCTIONS, AND REPRODUCTIONS.

It is one of the grand conceptions of Divine economy that all things directly or indirectly are reproductive, propagative, or self-preservative ; nothing is lost in the Divine economy ; the laws of the inner world must be reproductive, ever appropriating, producing, and reproducing. The more there is appropriated, the more means are furnished of greater and increased power of reproduction, taking care essentially that assimilation shall accompany and carry out all things appropriated.

Take the mind first in its infancy receiving early impressions. Listening with extended eyes and mouth have little to do with hearing, but evidences the desire for the appropriation of what it hears. Rivet the attention of a child, and appropriation at once commences, and forms a part of the character of the child ; and thus with all. From birth, with all it sees and all it hears, the child, and the youth, and the man, become built up. The more it sees and hears, the more it knows, the more the capacity extends for the acquirement of further knowledge, which will proceed *ad infinitum*, if a proper regard be paid to the healthy condition of the body and the gradual growth of the mind ; taking care also, during the development of youth, not suddenly to crowd it beyond moderation. Appropriation then is the constant work going on in the mental condition ; having received impressions, if you deem them true, they then become part of yourself, or, if false, are rejected as futile, unworthy of appropriation, and, therefore, are cast off. By analogy, they are as excrements of the mental condition.

Here, then, are the things we constantly hear and see, surrounding us, the ears and eyes acting as doors to the mind, the cerebrum = memory, and the judgment acting as the stomach, appropriating or putting aside what is not congenial to its nature, or not in keeping with its requirements. How analogous

is the operation of the mind, then, to the operations of the body? Nothing is lost in the Divine economy; that rejected by one may become the most important to another; even as pearls before swine, the wisest and best are oftener rejected by man than the most foolish and the worst. The reason for it also is, that man is but man, humanity is fallacious, frail, and changeable, and too often chooses according to its own self-hood, which is self-serving rather than from the intelligence of truthful and loveful teaching. We are told to do good and eschew evil; but how often do we do evil and eschew good; and this is a process going on in the animal condition of the human body. We eat and drink food, digest and assimilate into our systems the various aliments for our nourishment, which having appropriated to the various requisites of our nature,—*i.e.* into chyle, chyme, blood, bone, flesh, and sinew, &c.—the system rejects what it cannot assimilate, and what is rejected is called excrement. How analogous is all this operation of the body to that of the mind, and the assimilations or appropriations of the spiritual food to the mind! These things which have gone towards strengthening the mind are analogous to chyle, chyme, and blood, are spiritual or supernal truths, the enlightenments of Divine intelligence. That which is analogous to what the body assimilates to bone, flesh, and sinew is the appropriation of food for spiritual usefulness, for goodness, and charitableness, the Divine teachings of benevolence guided by wisdom, into which, as man properly grows, he becomes spiritually and supernally stronger and better.

Having partaken of all that he can, and appropriated all that he can, that which he cannot appropriate is rejected as worthless, corresponding to and analogous to the excrement, which, however, is not to be regarded as useless, for nothing is lost in the Divine economy; it may be viewed only as useless to us, though valuable to another. It may be nourishment to the next lower stage of condition, which is again analogous to the vegetable kingdom, the stage lower than the animal condition.

## CHAPTER XXX.

HAPPINESS CONSISTS IN ITS RELATION, POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE, TO THE PERFECT. TO DO GOOD, NOT AN ARBITRARY COMMAND, BUT A PRIVILEGE BY WHICH OUR BEST INTERESTS ARE PROMOTED.

THE power of appropriation depends upon the quality of the assimilating power, *ergo*, upon the quality of the digestive functions; the food taken, though alike and the same, received into various qualities of digestion, becomes variously assimilated, or even rejected during that process. The sufferings of indigestion are excessive in this day, arising from the causal world not having enforced nor brought about a clear comprehension of causality. None have intelligibly appropriated pure good nor pure intelligence in a supernal degree. The imperfections of our preceding generations are yet handed down to this generation; purgations of third and fourth generations have not taken place, the curse still remains with us, and the appropriation of First Principles has not taken place in the supernal man, so it cannot in the natural.

Goodness and wisdom are not appreciated in the superlative degree, but only in a mixed, corrupt degree. They are not appropriated nor received in the heart, will, and mind *con amore*, but merely professed and paraded. Hence digestion is imperfect, and great are the sufferings of wrong assimilation, first supernally then naturally. The very fact of the governing powers grasping so greedily too much to themselves, is an indication of inordinate appetites, that produce indigestion and the consequent suffering of malappropriation.

The food may be good for digestion, but an imperfect secretion of the solvents may convert the good food into wrong results. There may be formations of acids in excess, lactic acid especially, extending itself throughout the whole system. With efficient powers of digestion, a repast leaves one in happiness and content; an imperfect power of digestion renders one after



a repast hypochondriacal and discontented. The food was good, and the same, in each of these conditions; the difference in the effect is evidently from the difference in the digestive powers. The food for the mind may be equally good; but, by different powers of comprehension, is differently appropriated; analogically regarded, is variously adopted into our moral condition, according to the powers of the mind to discriminate and appreciate the food of the mind. In some, the good teaching is imperfectly understood, and is received into the mind, having a wrong bias, corresponding to the imperfect solvents of the stomach, fermenting and producing acidular results: so in the mind are there these wrong biases, fomenting and fermenting the comprehensions, causing lower disturbing and grovelling dispositions, disaffected, ill-humoured characters (such as are ever ready to disaffect others); everything seen and heard is wrong (which too often is the case); till at length infirmities of mind become as evident as those of the body: in fact, the infirmities of the body and those of the mind become nearly identical, until a remedy be applied to both.

The physical-mental is affected by the physical-digestive. A fermentation in the stomach generates the carbonic acid gas, which affects the physical-mental by acting upon the brain, conveyed by the pneumo-gastric nerve, sensitively too, causing depression of spirits. The mind-reflective is affected by the mind-receptive. A confused and morbid mind generates the rancorous effusions, which affect mind-reflective, which re-acts upon the mind unappropriated in negation, which reflective-negation and rejection ever are inharmonious—consequently depress the soul: for reception and appropriation ever are productive of happiness when the food is efficiently and healthily assimilated into all the various functions for which it was intended; but when that which is received is not efficiently and healthily appropriated, it is ever attended with pain. In short, complete reception is pleasure, or happiness; partial reception, less pleasure and less happiness: but rejection or negation is the contrary of pleasure, *i. e.*, misery;—shorter still, the positive is pleasure, the negative displeasure; the pneumo-gastric nerve

conveying all the feelings of the stomach to the head, the seat of feeling.

Herein we derive some little knowledge of the elementary laws operating upon the soul, which law in itself is uniformly correct *à priori*, and perfect when Divine, but variously and differently received, because we are only human. Apply this to all our actions in life, and we shall find how immensely it concerns us: for it exposes to us what life is, and that negation must be exercised upon the wrong, the greedy, and the perverted, while the positive must be ever exercised upon the good and true; because the good and the true will admit of efficient and healthy appropriation, productive of happiness and pleasure, whilst the wrong, the selfish, and the perverted will only admit of inefficient and perverted negations of good and justice, which produce displeasure and misery. Hence we see that man was not directed to do good because of any arbitrary command, but because, by so doing, he was consulting his own best interest—the only way by which he could obtain, virtuously, pleasurable life, which alone is worth living for—the life which man was taught to expect and ask for—the kingdom which is to come, because it is the Divine will, which is to be done on earth, as it is done in the heavens.

Investigate the Divine commands, and you will find none have a tendency to rob man of happiness; but, on the contrary, they are all calculated to promote his happiness, calculated to evolve good feelings in ourselves, and develope kindness and brotherly love within us. These blessings within confer happiness; for the more kindness we feel within ourselves, the more happy we feel. There is a co-relation between one and the other—a kindred character and quality between one and the other, harmonious and delightful: every good act reverberates upon the actor or doer with multiplied payment of gratification and happiness. This must be very evident, considered in a natural point of view, because it brings the party with whom you are in association into a positive condition towards you, in the affirmative relation. Do a kindness to a good man, and he feels at once kindly disposed towards you; do the same to an

evilily disposed man, and you might by possibility awaken a wrong motive within him at first ; he might take advantage of a supposed weakness in you, and mistake kindness for soft points. With such, it is well to use neither pity without justice, nor anger : Zeno is good here. Be acute, as well as kind ; pity will do much harm without wisdom to guide. Among such as are human wolves in the world, we are taught to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Some natures may be improved by awakening another kind of emulation in them. If they will not aim at direct goodness, try to draw forth a different kind of pride. First, the PRIDE OF HONESTY among themselves, which most have, then the feeling might be awakened of honesty towards all ; after which, the low feeling, which has only been used as a *means*, might be dropped, and a love of real honesty induced. A person having once accomplished this in another, let him ask himself if he be not amply repaid by the satisfaction of having assisted in a brother's elevation, and in the kind relation he has brought an enemy to occupy before him,—perhaps with the smile of good fellowship, and even gratitude, towards the man who first awakened better sentiments within him. This is a possession which gives its owner more real happiness and more real enjoyment of life. Thus, then, by a constant practice of kindness with intelligence and justice, better feelings possess ourselves, and better spheres exist for all around us. These influence others, both by precept, sphere, and general example. Thus the human race might be seen to be gradually progressing, could we be seen appropriating First Principles ; the heavenly kingdom might be looming in the far distant horizon, and the Divine will be doing on earth, as it is done in heaven.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

MAN'S REGARDS SHOULD BE UNIVERSALLY IMPORTANT, NOT  
SELF-IMPORTANT.

AN American Treatise, by Edmund H. Sear, on Regeneration, expresses great thoughts and principles upon the organic whole of the race of man. He says:—

“What, then, is the actual condition of the race? Taken in the mass, it lies in spiritual darkness, each generation receiving from the past its gloomy superstitions and horrid idolatries. A race in its true condition, not less than a family or a state, would form a certain organic whole. It would be a family of nations, society in its grandest form, and that a form of beneficence, taking up every people and every tribe, into our circulatory system of benefits and blessings, that poured life and happiness from all to each, and from each to all. Diplomacy, trade, commerce, would form a grand system, that kept girdling the globe with charities; or, perhaps, the arteries and veins, that kept sending life into all the members, and bringing it back. Instead of this, the nations and peoples are fallen asunder; we debate whether they belong to the same species; each is parted off to its solitary darkness and bloody customs, and they present the spectacle of the fragments of a mighty ruin.”

The universal kingdom where such kindred *should* dwell lies not in the far distant, but within the present, and within ourselves; by cultivating the generous, by harmonizing nature, by learning to regard all favourably, by keeping ourselves in the affirmative state, desiring to see the truth, not resisting it; by viewing all things as the work of the Creator, therefore claiming our highest respect and love; looking upon none that should not be called brother, and as the children of the Universal Father. Whether white or black, whether European or African, whether Indian or American, whether Mohammedan, the Zends of the Persians, or the Shakers of the Americans; whether Roman Catholic, Calvinistic, or Lutheran Catholic; whether Episcopalian or Jew, whether Sows of the Vedas and Shasters



of the Hindoos, or men of any other name; all are brethren, made by God, and loved by Him—not despised by Him as by man. How can we allow ourselves, then, to regard a man of another country or sect with indifference, much less with scorn or derision? How can we despise any that are not so rich, or so handsome, or so clever, or so influential, or so important as ourselves? for frequently the man that has the least self-importance is doubtless regarded more favourably by the wise and good. Self-importance comes from self-love, which is the destroying enemy within us all.

The tower of Babel truly represents this self-love as opposed to the love of each other. Prior to this Babylonian erection, man, thinking less from himself, thought more from Divine impulse. But at length, relying more and more upon himself, he sought to build himself to heaven; which, analogically, men are doing at this day. Nothing less than a self-important tower is constantly under the process of erection, which supernal power is ever throwing down, within us—much, in truth to our discomfiture. Happy, however, will it be for us, if on its ruins we build a humbler, holier state. This is a work for our entire life, under the practice of true self-denial. If we deny ourselves everything inordinate, everything greedy, passionate, dishonest, or unfair, and take *in toto* the Commandments, an echo of which the Creator has inscribed on our hearts and minds,—by this abnegation are we having the Babylonian tower replaced within us by what is far nobler and better; the physical is made to decay, and the metaphysical, the purer spiritual, is taking its place, and eternal life is being built up. Beauties of supernal life are becoming realities of life, often as the beauties of bodies are dying away. Alas! too often does the naturally beautiful become a corrupting medium of the heart, by its vanity, pride, and conceit, ending often in tyranny and oppression. How fragile, alas, is earthly beauty! When most beautiful, it is just then most precarious; in the flower, in the fruit, in the animal, and in the human.

So sure as man prides himself upon any of his own seeming perfections, so sure will his tower of Babel fall, and confounded



will be his power of expression ; until shame overtake him, and awakens in him a sense of his defects. Pride is the love of self, and therefore evil ; and, as a writer on Religion and Life, in the "Intellectual Repository" for July, No. 7, aptly remarks, p. 310 :—

"So long as these (selfish) motives dominate, whether life move within the forms of law and decorum, or refuse their bondage, hell lies within it and breathes the pestilence of evil through all its activities. Often the difference between the two is trifling. He whose self-love unrestrained, goes outward to steal or kill, is seized and chained ; but he whose evil passions gain their object by a more circuitous and legal route, passes on untouched, and is perhaps respectable. But in each the life is essentially infernal. Government is transformed into the instrument of an insatiable lust of power, that grows by what it feeds on. Though the laws may preserve order and freedom, and give a clear path to national development and prosperity, still are they unsound at heart when self lies within. Commerce, when selfhood reigns, though it feeds and clothes nations, and brings to every door the produce of every land, gives only that it may receive more abundantly ; and though it scatters blessings everywhere, and gives the means of life and comfort to every home, we cannot give the meed of praise to poor humanity for these great works, but feel grateful to First Principles, which compel an all-absorbing selfishness to become the instrument for the diffusion of its blessings. Thus self, even when chained by laws, and observant of decorum and propriety, corrupts every seeming good, and makes it poison to the doer. It defiles all things by its touch, and science, literature, and art are scarcely less its slaves than meaner things. But when this evil love wildly overleaps the barrier of law, often too feeble to restrain it, it issues in every form of hate, revenge, and malice. It is the sirocco of society, and spiritual death and desolation mark its course. The impure hearts of men are the Etnas whence the lava of self-love rushes hissing downwards, and buries vineyard and village beneath its liquid fire—kills goodness, truth, and beauty.

"But if the will be the heavenly home of pure affections, then are all things sanctified by their influences. Deeds that in their unobtrusive modesty may pass unnoticed by the world, are yet,

when done from love to man, precious in the sight of the First Cause. The lowliest lot that falls to man acquires greatness and beauty when all its duties are filled with truth and goodness. The pure heart is the only true alchymist—its touch converts all things into gold. Under its influence life would become continuous worship, and every day a sabbath ; commerce would cease to be a sordid strife for wealth, the good of man would be more than gain. Government would not be synonymous with tyranny and grinding exaction ; the love of dominion and gain would yield to love of country. Art would give to Love and Faith all their native grace and beauty, and make sense minister to the soul's advancement. If the heart of the *universal social man were pure*, then through every artery down to the minutest capillary vessel, would the life-blood of pure affections carry spiritual health and vigour. Nothing would be insignificant, nothing mean, for the world would live from God, and the great heart of society would beat in unison with that of Heaven.

“ It is, then, because the condition of the human heart determines the state of society, that religion can enter into close and permanent conjunction with life, always and everywhere. Its purpose is to purify the heart, and, from that vital centre, to affect every point in the circumference of human existence. Doubtless this purpose has been greatly obscured by the false views entertained of religion itself, and by the establishment of a broad but vicious distinction between things to be *believed* and things to be *done*. Religion and morality have been supposed to stand apart, and to occupy distinct regions. Faith has been divorced from practice, thought from action. Whence comes this, but from the fact that a false faith fears the consequences of its own ultimatum ? Do you desire to test the precise value of a theory—push it to its last results, apply it to practice, observe the fruit which grows upon it. Truth never appears more beautiful than in a glorious fruitage of deeds and uses ; the deformity of a fallacy is never more apparent than in the noxious thing which it produces. Whatever be the merit of a parchment plan, still, if it be impracticable, we class it among dreams—splendid, perhaps, but unsubstantial ; and if any religion fail at that point where it should be linked with life—if it do not in its every teaching, as well the nearest as the most remote, bear down upon life, action, and uses—that religion is a parchment plan, impracticable, and may disappear

without loss to the world. If you present for my acceptance a religion which has for its central idea a God subject to *human passions and failings*, which makes redemption a work wholly abnormal, disconnected from all the orderly operations of Providence—which supersedes reverent obedience by faith in an unscriptural, irrational, unintelligible creed,—then I am bound, from reverence to God and enlightened reason, to reject that religion ; for it stands aloof from humanity, and has no relation to life : it aids us nothing in that work of regeneration which is an individual redemption ; and when we ask for help in our conflict with evil, and for guidance in our progress toward heaven, when we hunger for the bread of Life, it gives us the stone of an unintelligible creed.”

Numerous are the corroborations from the newly-enlightened men, that the Babel building is going on at this day. Man’s adorations are too often in accordance with his own human passions and failings : the man must be the religion, not God that made the man.

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## CHAPTER XXXII.

### PRIDE THE PERVERTING MEDIUM IN ALL MEN AND IN ALL AGES.

THIS pride is allowed to exist as a subordinate ingredient in the human composition, until better and more genuine incentives impel us to action, and while it remains subordinated to the genuine inner principles of our being, order is maintained ; but immediately pride gets the ascendant, usurpation, then anarchy, ensues. It can hardly be believed that the love of self is not necessary to our existence. In the present stage of society it may be said to be necessary, as arms and weapons are amongst robbers and murderers ; and if only held as arms of protection, to be used only defensively, they may be seen to be

permissible. But let it be known that they are not always a necessary concomitant of humanity. When we live in a purer atmosphere, where more good feeling dwells, where affection prevails, and love is the motive impulse to action; pride and self-love are not only not necessary, but are odiously and hideously out of place, and are seen to be distorted deformities of humanity. Such, a man proud of his understanding is seen to be, large head and diminutive body; a man proud of his power is like a lion or a bear; a man proud of his title is seen to be a shadow, not a substance or reality; one proud of his riches, and with no higher inner riches, is in reality a monkey decked with prince's feathers, or with a red coat on his back, from which, however, the tail still protrudes. The pride of grand display is seen in a Lord Mayor's show or a Catholic procession; and it is nothing but the display of a peacock's tail. In the pride of literary fame, we are often reminded of an orang-outang, in the garb of man, sitting at a desk, with a pen in his ear, and inkstand before him.

In fact, pride is the absurdity of life, and the poison of all that is good. As Swedenborg has clearly expressed it, "Pride is the love of self." (*A. C.* n. 2220.) "Pride extinguishes and suffocates the light of heaven; pride glues fables together,—so that at last they cohere, like concretions formed by the foam of the sea." (*A. R.* n. 421.) This pride of the external man seems to be ever actively attempting to destroy the inner man, and aspiring to have dominion over it; as the swelling of Jordan represents it, symbolizing the external man continually assaulting the internal, and aspiring to dominion. How cold is the proud man; how chilling to those of less *apparent* importance than himself; how stiff, how like concretions, how like a lifeless body, from which all the vital warmth of good seems to have fled, and left but the chrysalis behind.

How opposite to the nature of love is this pride. There may be parental and filial love, which is common in the animal creation, which is the love of their own, and comes out of love of self. This may be warm in its own circle, but how cheerless to others. How different is the unostentatious! How free and



unfettered, how hearty and cheerful to others! How happy can they make others. Instead of the "Stand off—*I am holier than thou,*" it is ever inviting: Come, and share with me my little,—no invites to behold my grandeur; but to share my wholesome comforts, with a hearty welcome and a homely cheer. Who cannot be happy? Why, the proud might not be happy, because their vanity might not be gratified. However, this matters little, for they would be made more miserable were a display made greater than they themselves can make. This pride is constantly, in some way, wounding our feelings, and making us miserable. It is a very ungrateful quality: the more we feed it the more it expects, and the less satisfied it is with what it possesses. Yet, what pains have men taken to call forth that pride, which should have been reduced and kept in the background. What Whittington histories have been written, so calculated to induce a wrong emulation? No child should be taught to become greater than another, but only to bring out his highest proficiencies in all the requirements of education for the public good. Application is necessary, and can be pursued in the absence of pride. If pride be not in the teacher, it need not be in the child: if in the teacher, take your child away from him, as you would from a destroying tiger. Let the child not receive such destructive influence from any quarter. Substitute for that pride the love of doing good, the love of making others happy; when it will be found that neither the desire to be greater nor less than another is necessary for your happiness nor theirs. A manly and honest-hearted equality may be allowed, if it do not merge into arrogance. A mean spirit is not calculated to make a right-minded people, nor make them happy. Energy of character is necessary, in order to defend the right, and uphold the good and the true boldly; but always in brotherly love. In this world, kindness should be accompanied with boldness and much wisdom, in order that it may not be mistaken for the old puritanical, degrading humility which characterizes the little mean spirit, and in order that it may not be mistaken for timidity and cowardice. In the pagan days, when prowess was almost the only virtue practised,



it became ostentatious. It then became necessary that humility should be promulgated, which is prominently held forth in the Christian dispensation. Afterwards, a mistaken conception of the true humility, as taught by Christ, gave rise to a puritanical obsequiousness, which was not manly, and sometimes not honest.

The first and true principle of humility is to acknowledge that man's *nature* in itself, separated from Divine influences, is nothing but what is false and evil, which we are taught by the Christian religion. That our inherent nature is evil, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, is humiliating enough to think of, and was emphatically enforced amongst the early Christians, because men thought themselves gods, and worshipped gods of their own making. But men are being born again; and the new birth is emboldening, as long as the supernatural vitality is felt to be the essential of all we possess.

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### CHAPTER XXXIII.

IT IS A LAW OF FIRST PRINCIPLES, THAT HE WHO MAKES OTHERS MOST HAPPY, IS BY THE VERY ACT HIMSELF MADE MOST HAPPY.

THE object of this life would seem to be the perpetual re-birth, or new birth, according as the mind advances in wisdom and reason, and the heart and affections act in unison with the mind. This knowledge and affection, then, must be brought into action, into life, and practice, before any new spiritual birth takes place, unless circumstances offer absolute and inevitable opposition to the practice of it.

Regeneration is necessary, because degeneration exists. How man came into this degenerate condition seems to be but

imperfectly explained or understood ; we are ever being spiritually created, which is being born into new states and conditions, maturing life now and for ever ; a never-ending work here, a never-ending work in eternity. The divine vitality, felt to be the essential of all we possess, is, after all, the happiest reflection we can possess ; it is the only ennobling quality which, while it teaches humility, at the same time makes man bold, and inspires a right-minded spiritual dependence, with a less amount of worldly dependence. No man can be mean, nor obsequiously deceitful, who has a right conception of what constitutes his internal spirit ; for he knows there can be nothing mean in the Divine in its origin, therefore he must know that he has perverted the reception of the Divine, and given rise to an evil influence, if meanness enter into his composition.

The beneficence of the Creator is not seen in the descent of the sins of the third and fourth generation ; it is like the refulgence of the mid-day sun, irradiating and enlightening, warming and cherishing the evil and the good. Compare this with the beneficence of man, who is like the lamp in the night, which lights but a few of the chosen kindreds, of the family circle ; rejecting sometimes those who cannot afford to make display, to uphold the style and fashion of the day ; sometimes because of rank, sometimes because of manners, which were we kind enough we might improve ; often rejecting the poor, for whom we ought but to live to make happy, and provide attractive, industrious, and self-dependent occupations. The Omnibeneficence of the good Creator is not seen in this infliction of the miseries of the parents upon the third and fourth generation. Does the free-will of man explain this difficulty ? It is better seen in the very law which provides that he who can contribute most to the happiness of others is by the very act himself made most happy, but he must not look for recompence. This work cannot be carried out so effectively upon individuals alone, at present, as it can be upon nations, laws, and institutions : although, if it could become an individual work, universally each man bringing himself to a high standard,

it would be much better, and would render the law unnecessary. Let our energies be directed towards it, taking *inexclusiveness* as a standard of action. Any law that we find exclusive, we know is not in accordance with the universal *inexclusiveness* of Deity, who shines alike on the evil and the good.

Let all laws take the analogies of Creation's universal law and benevolence, for their standard.

The happiness which is experienced in making others happy is a real happiness in itself, because its origin is divine. But to practise it in this world is found difficult ; often because of the inordinate selfishness of so many around us, who are apt to take advantage of kindness, and actually misconstrue it into weakness of character and softness. Therefore great scrutiny should be exercised, and great care is necessary, in exercising goodness to others, that they do not abuse it, and that their moral condition be not injured. To allow any one to become a recipient of our kindness, without knowing that he receives it gratefully, is not doing the recipient the moral good that we intend ; because we may be encouraging idleness, or deceit, or a degrading humiliation, that does the recipient a greater amount of moral harm than the gift will do him good. Eleemosynary acts generally have this humiliating tendency. Also to allow any one to practise deceit in order to obtain your favours, is very bad for his moral condition. But there are the thousand ways in which you make those around you happy, and those whom you come in contact with in the world, without eleemosynary acts ; kind and considerate habits benefit all and yourself as well : just and upright conduct tends to make others just and upright ; taking care not to allow any one to impose upon you ; for in allowing that, you are promoting dishonesty. Self-denial and forbearance are indispensable to the happiness of both yourself and others.

The care and discrimination necessary in making others happy, I conceive to be only required in this world, as it is at present constituted ; the next world seems to peer through this cloudy scene in resplendent refulgence, when we contemplate the absence of such necessity there, where all harmonize in the

one grand pleasure of furnishing happiness to each other; in cherishing and practising all that is amiable; good qualities prevailing over all inhabitants; the sphere of love warming every heart, and the spirit of wisdom enlightening every mind, which unite all in the one grand and joyous effort to make all happy; exercising their intelligence in tracing variations of bliss for their celestial abodes. No inaction, but every attractive operation; the greater skill in any art, the greater power to please; where no discordant pride can interfere, no evil spirits can intrude to stir up wrath, nor aught that interferes with any one's equilibrium. All free, impulsive, spontaneous good; and good to all.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE FREE WILL OF MAN THE PARAMOUNT OBJECT IN CREATION.

WITHOUT going into the consideration here on the primeval happiness which existed before death or sin is said to have taken place, the grand object of creation, though difficult for human conception, is, nevertheless, a very profitable inquiry; more especially as doctrines arising out of the existing errors of the day have conveyed wrong ideas on the subject.

The importance of the free agency of man seems never to have been sufficiently dwelt upon; and yet without that free will man would ever have been a slave, a mere machine,—having no self-acting, no self-conscious, no motive power, not in, but *per se*. Notwithstanding the Fall, this free agency is the grandest principle of creation. In this we see a refinement of work, which nothing but Infinite Wisdom and Infinite Love could accomplish; in this we see the immense distinction between



the grandeur of the Creator and the finite faculties of man. All man's inventive genius can do, in steam, in locomotion, in chemistry, or mechanism, falls immeasurably short of creating anything even distantly like free agency. I apprehend, then, that but for the importance of this free agency, man's apostasy would not have been permitted, the grand work of restoration would not have become necessary ; and because of the importance of this free agency man was permitted to fall, in order that he might freely rise again,—a greater and nobler work than he was even before the Fall, in his primeval blessedness. This has E. Hitchcock, in his able work on Religion and Geology, forcibly explained.

Had man not been created free to fall, he would not have been free in reality at all ; he would not have been free to rise. The rule of his life would have been coercion—mechanical or animal—compulsion, *volens volens*. Fancy the heavens filled with such incongruous natures ; such characters will not do for earth even, as introductory to a better state. Who does not feel that doing right from duty is a far better state than only doing right by compulsion ? It is indispensable that we *ourselves* should constrain ourselves until we acquire the love of good that we constrained ourselves upon. There is that peculiar elasticity in our nature, arising out of our free will, that we are free to learn to love the very things we once hated. The very good qualities which were once revolting to our feelings, we can learn to love ; and this is effected, first, *by doing* them as a duty, until a higher motive fills our breast ; we then *do them* from pleasure—from love—from choice. The heavens thus become filled with voluntary souls, loving their God as the Centre of all good, of all that is pure and pleasurable, and of all that man is capable of thoroughly enjoying. Nothing is withheld that man can enjoy ; that only is withheld that detracts from happiness in the abstract. But what detracts from happiness ? Why, the absence of love in the pursuit of good ; not liking the object, no pleasure is derived in the pursuit of it, for there is no pleasure where there is no love. How essential then is it that we should be free to love—free to



will; for there only we find the pleasure where we find the will free. Having removed the alloys of earth, which are the power of evil constraining to evil, which render it necessary that man should use the power of good within him, which has been given to constrain the power of evil, until he overcome evil with good. Hitchcock, "On Religion and Geology," says:—

"We may suppose, with Jeremy Taylor, that death to Adam consisted not in going out of the world, but in the manner of going. If he had not sinned, the exchange of worlds would have been without fear or suffering, and an object of desire rather than aversion.

"Or we may suppose, with Dr. J. Pye Smith, that, while man should continue to keep the divine law, he would be secured from that tendency to decay and dissolution, which was the common lot of all other creatures, until the time should come for his removal, without suffering or dread, to a higher state of existence. And that a means of immunity from death existed in the garden of Eden we learn from the Scriptures. For there stood the tree of life, whose fruit had the power to make man live for ever; and, therefore, he must be banished from the spot where it grew.

"Or, finally, we may suppose that God fitted up for man some balmy spot, where neither decay nor death could enter, and where everything was adapted for a being of perfect holiness and happiness. His privilege was to dwell there, so long as he could preserve his innocence, but no longer. And surely this supposition seems to accord with the description of the garden of Eden, man's first dwelling-place. There everything seems to have been adapted to his happiness; but sin drove him out among the thorns and thistles, and cherubim and a flaming sword forbade his return to the tree of life.

"Either of these suppositions will meet the difficulty suggested by the objection; or they may all be combined consistently. Let us now look at some of the advantages of the third theory above advanced.

"In the first place, it satisfactorily harmonizes revelation with geology, physiology, and experience, on the subject of death. It agrees with physiology and experience in representing death to be a law of organic being on the globe. Yet it accords with revelation,

in showing how this law may be a result of man's apostasy ; and and with geology, also, in showing how death might have reigned over animals and plants before man's existence. To remove so many apparent discrepancies is surely a presumption in favour of any theory.

"In the second place, the fundamental principle of this theory is also a fundamental principle of natural and revealed theology—namely, that all events in this world entered originally into the plan or purpose of the Deity. To suppose that God made the world without a plan previously determined upon, is to make him less wise than a human architect, who would be charged with great folly to attempt building even a house without a plan. And to suppose that plan not to extend to every event, is to rob God of his infinite attributes.

"In the third place, this theory falls in with the common interpretation of Scripture, which refers the whole system of suffering, decay, and death in this world to man's apostasy. And although the general reception of any exegesis of Scripture does not prove it be correct, it is certainly gratifying when a thorough examination proves the obvious sense of a passage to be the true one. For to disturb the popular interpretation is, with many, equivalent to a denial of Scripture.

"In the fourth place, this theory shows us the infinite skill and benevolence of Jehovah in educing good from evil.

"The free agency of man was an object in the highest degree desirable. Yet such a character made him liable to fall ; and God knew that he would fall. To human sagacity that act would seem to seal up his fate for ever. But infinite wisdom saw that the case was not hopeless. It placed him in a state of temporal suffering and temporal death, that he might still have a chance of escaping eternal suffering and eternal death."

## CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CREATOR REGARDED ETERNAL NOT TEMPORARY OBJECTS  
IN CREATION, BECAUSE TIME MUST SUBSERVE ETERNITY.

“THE discipline of such a world was eminently adapted to restore his (man’s) lost purity, and death was probably the only means by which a fallen being could pass to a higher state of existence. That discipline, indeed, if rightly improved, would probably fit him for a higher degree of holiness and happiness than if he had never sinned, so as to make true the paradoxical sentiment of the poet—

*‘Death gives us more than was in Eden lost.’*

“Misimproved, this discipline would result in an infinite loss, far greater than if man never passed through it. But this is all the fault of man, while all the benefit of a state of probation is the result of God’s infinite wisdom and benevolence.

“In the fifth place, this theory relieves us from the absurdity of supposing that God was compelled to alter the plan of creation after man’s apostasy.

“The common theory does convey an idea not much different from this. It makes the impression that God was disappointed when man sinned, and being thereby thwarted in his original purpose, he did the best he could by changing his plan, just as men do when some unexpected occurrence interferes with their short-sighted contrivances. Now, such an anthropomorphic view of God is inexcusable in the nineteenth century. It was necessary to use such representations in the early ages of the world, when pure spiritual ideas were unknown; and hence the Bible describes God as repenting and grieved that he had made man. But with the light of the New Testament and of modern science, we ought to be able to enucleate the true spiritual idea from such descriptions. The theory under consideration does not reduce God to any after-thought expedients, but makes provision for every occurrence in his original plan, and, of course, shows that every event takes place as he would have it, when viewed in its relations to the great system of the universe.

“In the sixth place, this theory sheds some light upon the impor-

tant question, Why God permitted the introduction of death into the world ?

“ It is difficult for some persons to conceive why God, when he foresaw Adam's apostasy, did not change his plan of creation, and exclude so terrible an evil as death. But according to this theory he permitted it, because it was a necessary part of a great system of restoration, by which the human race might, if not recreant to their true interests, be restored to more than their primeval blessedness. It was not introduced as a mere punishment, but as a necessary means of raising a fallen being into a higher state of life and blessedness ; or, if he perversely spurned the offered boon, of sinking him down to the deeper wretchedness which is the just consequence of unrepented sin, without even the sympathy of any part of the created universe.

“ Finally, this subject throws some light upon that strange mixture of good and evil which exists in the present world. We have seen, indeed, that benevolence decidedly predominates in all the arrangements of nature, and we are called upon continually to admire the adaptation of external nature to the human constitution. A large portion of our sufferings here may also be imputed to our own sins, or the sins of others : and these we cannot charge upon God. But, after all, it seems difficult to conceive how even a sinless man could escape a large amount of suffering here ; enough, indeed, to make him often sigh for deliverance and for a better state. How many sources of sufferings there are in unhealthy climates, mechanical violence, and chemical agents ; in a sterile soil, in the excessive heats of the tropical regions, and extreme cold of high latitudes ; in the encroachments and ferocity of the inferior animals ; in poisons—mineral, vegetable, and animal ; in food unfitted to the digestive and assimilating organs ; in the damps and miasms of night, and in the frequent necessity for over-exertion of body and mind ! And then, how many hindrances to the exercise of the mental powers in all the causes that have been mentioned ! and how does the soul feel that she is imprisoned in flesh and blood, and her energies cramped, and her vision clouded, by a gross corporeal medium ! And thus it is, to a great extent, with all nature, especially animal nature ; and I cannot but believe, as already intimated, that Paul had these very things in mind when he said, ‘ The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now, and waiteth for



the manifestation of the sons of God ;" that is, for emancipation from from its present depressed and fettered condition. In short, while there is so much in this world to call forth our admiration and gratitude to God, there is enough to make us feel, also, that it is a fallen condition. It is not such a world as Infinite Benevolence would provide for perfectly holy beings, whom he desired to make perfectly happy, but rather such a world as is adapted for a condition of trial and preparation for a higher state, when both mind and body would be delivered from the fetters that now cramp their exercise.

"Now, the theory which I advocate asserts that this peculiar condition of the world resulted from the Divine determination, upon a prospective view of man's transgression. It may, therefore, be properly regarded as occasioned by man's transgression, but not in the common meaning attached to that phrase, which is, that before man's apostasy, the constitution of the world was different from what it now is, and death did not exist. This theory supposes God to have devised the present peculiar mixed condition of the world, as to good and evil, in eternity, in order to give man an opportunity to rescue himself from the penalty and misery of sin, and in order to introduce those who should do this into a higher state of existence. The plan, therefore, is founded in infinite wisdom and benevolence, while it brings out man's guilt and the evil of sin, in appalling distinctness and magnitude.

"But, after all, how little idea would a man have of the entire plot of a play, who had heard only a part of the first act! How little could he judge of the bearing of the first scene upon the final development! Yet we are now only in the first act of the great drama of human existence. Death shows us that we shall, ere long, be introduced into a second act, and affords a presumption that other acts, it may be in an endless series, will succeed, before the whole plot shall have passed before us ; and not till then can we be certain what are all the objects to be accomplished by the introduction of sin and death into our world. And, if thus early, we can catch glimpses of great benefit to result from these evils, what full conviction that Infinite Benevolence has planned and consummated the whole will be forced upon the mind, when the vast panorama of God's dispensations shall lie spread out in the memory! For that time shall Faith wait, in confident hope that all her doubts and darkness shall be converted into noonday brightness."



Since we have the poet exulting in that which the world has regarded as the universal curse of man, let us hope that a new era is dawning upon us, and that a new light has already opened our eyes to truths which were not imparted to our forefathers. The day had not arrived when such light could be received without abusing it; but when the poet of the nineteenth century emphatically says that—

“Death gives us more than was in Eden lost,”

let us regard death in a correct light, and rejoice that we have such men as Hitchenck, who fearlessly publishes truths that he conceives conscientiously to be correct, however, Galileo-like, he may know them not to be popular—however far, he is certain they are, from the orthodox of his day.

Swedenborg says, in his “Divine Providence,” which all who would be wise should read, n. 214-215, “That temporary things relate to dignities and riches, therefore to honours and emoluments, in this world.” In n. 250, he says—

“You will scarcely find fifty in a thousand who are influenced by the love of God, and among these, only a few aspire to dignities. Since, then, they are so few in number who are influenced by the love of God, and so many who are influenced by the love of the world, and since the latter loves, from the nature of their fires, are more productive of uses than the love of God is from its fire, how can any one confirm himself against Divine Providence, from the circumstance of the wicked being in greater pre-eminence and opulence than the good?”

Since there is no pleasure where there is no love, how necessary is it to cultivate the loves of a right character—of a character that produces pleasure and happiness: to cultivate the loves (or desires, which are almost identical, and which produce pain), is the act of a madman: none but unsound minds and bodies can be supposed to do it. After all, nothing more than this is required of us by our Creator—only that we do what is right; because doing what is right is happiness to ourselves, and death gives us a realization of all these benefits.

To “die daily” is another mode of expression, because ap-

parent pleasures are enticing and bewitching, and frequently the more virulent in their effects, as they are the more bewitching; and were they not virulent, they would lead to eternal destruction. To deny oneself daily is the death of sin, which gives us even temporally "more than was in Eden lost," because it procures to us pleasures unalloyed—without sin.

Let us keep constantly before our minds the fact that we are only in the "first act of the great drama of human existence," and look upon this first act of the great drama as great only as it is a means to a great end; that this life is important as a formatory condition, for the development of the mind, and the making up of the man. Compare its shortness of duration to the endlessness of eternity, and we must consider that we are *not paying a shadow of proportionate privation, compared to an eternity of compensation.*

If this view of the case be not all-sufficient for the time-serving of our day, let us see if some considerable amount of good is not to be derived by cultivating all the happiness we can obtain from *this world*, which results from a purity of life and wholesome habits, by first improving the health. In order that we may possess the enjoyment of good health, we must avoid abuses, simply because they disturb the balance which continues to us the enjoyment of good health. Exercise forethought sufficiently to provide for yourself and family, without ever forgetting that the provision is the means to an end, and not the object for which we live. Cultivate order, because order promotes comfort and happiness; cultivate diligence, until diligence becomes a pleasure: so will cleanliness and refinement of taste be pleasures, when unaccompanied with pride and extravagance. Be generous (not forgetting Zeno's maxim, that both pity and anger are passions) and kind, as that will beget a response from others, making them happy and yourself also. Learn to be cheerful, as that makes others so, and benefits your health. Never forgetting that a proper guidance in all that promotes our happiness is always attainable from the infinite benevolence of our Creator and Preserver. Reliance upon that vigilant good Spirit, which is ever ready to enter our natures,

and take up his abode within us, with all His happy influences, as soon as ever we have denied ourselves the abominations of our spiritual house, and helped to make it clean enough for our spiritual guest to eternity.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### MOHAMMED A BETTER ADMONISHER THAN OUR EPISCOPACY.

MOHAMMED denounced usury. In the 6th Chapter of the Koràn, page 79, he says, "Because they shut out many from the way of God, and have taken usury, which was forbidden them by the law, and devoured men's substance vainly; we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers a painful punishment. But to those among them that are well grounded in knowledge,—as Abdallah Edn Salam and his companions, and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before thee,—and believe in God and the last day; unto these will we give a great reward."

If our Protestant priests will not admonish our country because the royal, rich, ambitious, and proud are those chiefly that practise extravagance, from whom they themselves are maintained, why then, in the name of the First Cause, let some better spirits be the guiding genius than those that have so allied themselves, by lawn-sleeves, to pomp and pageantry. Even Mohammed taught better practices than do our sleeping watchmen. In plain words he says, in the 2nd Chapter, page 22, "Consume not your wealth among yourselves in vain; nor present it unto judges, that ye may devour part of men's substance unjustly, against your own consciences."

Why do not our bishops speak as boldly, at least, as Mohammed, and admonish Lord Derby for racing and betting?

Among all our bishops and archbishops, where do we find great statesmen's practices ever recriminated by Episkopos? Is it because the *Congé d'élire*, or *D'élire royal*, belongs to the Crown only? That, I fear, is the real secret. Let the Church become voluntary, and the whole Chapter of archbishops, bishops, canons, prebendaries, deans, proctors, vicars, and rectors, be chosen (as are the dissenting ministers) by their constituent parishes, or by their respective sectional bodies.

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## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### ON THE PROTESTANT STATE CHURCH.

THIS Church must take great care that posterity does not say that of it which George Sale says of Mohammed's Korân, that "it was an imposture." Certain it is that Protestants are going back into idolatry, that very idolatry which that prophet denounced amongst the early Christians.

Papistical trinkets of idolatry are being fast introduced by the High Church Protestant.

Will the bishops examine their own conscience, and say why they exclude all other professions that are not found in their Thirty-nine Articles? Why, the intelligence of this day knows well that this is done in order that their livings and emoluments accruing therefrom to themselves shall be retained within the pale of their Church.

Why is not the second Homily now acted upon by Episkopos, finding their own Church in danger, viz., "Against the Peril of Idolatry"? Dares not the archbishop say a word about this, lest he be found to live in a "glass-house" also? Much care, I say earnestly, is necessary that we be not found impostors a thousand years hence, and that we do not appear as inconsistent, unspiritual, and ungodly then, as Mohammedanism appears to some now.



The Episcopalian Church now is tempted by the Papistical Church in a way similar to that of the Koreish, who endeavoured to seduce the Moslems to their old idolatry, as they fled in the battle of Ohod. But their prophet admonished them *in time*, fearlessly, not timidly as would our prelates, regarding their living first, which they intend never to jeopardize willingly.

Has Great Britain, by Episkopos, excelled in just law-givers under such *régime*? England can boast of great institutions, so can Russia; but is the Samaritan liberality exercised in this day to the extent it certainly was in the days of Hatem, of the tribe of Tay,\* and Hasn, of that of Fezarah?†

Did the imposition of Mohammedanism lessen that generous characteristic of the Arabs in the way that the selfishness of bishops does in our day? Let us see what Dr. Herbelot's "Bible d'Orient" says on it, or that of the Preliminary Discourse, sect. i. p. 21:—

"Nor were the Arabs less propense to liberality after the coming of Mohammed than their ancestors had been. I could produce many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them, but shall content myself with the following: Three men were disputing in the Court of the Caaba, which was the most liberal person among the Arabs. One gave the preference to Abdallah, the son of Juapar, the uncle of Mohammed; another to Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obádah; and the third gave it to Arâbah, of the tribe of Awes. After much debate, one that was present, to end the dispute, proposed that each of them should go to his friend and ask his assistance, that they might see what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to: and Abdallah's friend, going to him, found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accosted him: 'Son of the uncle of the Apostle of God, I am travelling and in necessity.' Upon which Abdallah's friend alighted, and bid him take the camel with all that was upon her, but desired him not to part with a sword that happened to be fixed to the saddle, because

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\* Vide Gentii Notas in Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486.

† Poc. Spec., p. 48.



it had belonged to Ali the son of Abutaleb. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of silk and four thousand pieces of gold; but the thing of greatest value was the sword.—The second went to Kais Ebn Saad, whose servant told him his master was asleep; and desired to know his business. The friend answered, that he came to ask Kais's assistance, being in want on the road. Whereupon the servant said that he had rather supply his necessity than wake his master, and gave him a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold, assuring him that it was all the money then in the house. He also directed him to go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a token, and take a camel and a slave and return home with them. When Kais awoke, and his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and asked him why he did not call him, for, says he, I would have given him more.—The third man went to Arâbah, and met him coming out of his house, in order to go to prayers, and leaned on two slaves, because his eyesight failed him. The friend no sooner made known his case, but Arâbah let go the slaves, and clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune in having no money, but desired him to take his two slaves; which the man refused to do, till Arâbah protested that if he would not accept of them he gave them their liberty; and, leaving the slaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the adventurers, judgment was unanimously, and with great justice, given by all who were present, that Arâbah was the most generous of the three."

Nor were these the only good qualities of the Arabs; they were commended by the ancients "for being the most exact to their words," so says Herodotus, lib. iii. c. 8; and "respectful to their kindred," so says Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1129.

Now, however much these three tales may sound like the "Arabian Nights," they are not of that collection, but are historical characteristics of the genius of the people that lived under the tutelage of the Korân. Extravagant as it may appear to us hucksterers of this day, when money-making is almost the sole virtue we recognize, nevertheless many particulars of the kind are to be found in the Articles of Hassan the son of Ali, Maan, Fadhel, and Ebn Yahya; proving that

among the vices of the Mohammedans, parsimony was not to be numbered.

According to the tradition of this prophet, "the wicked men on whom God shall fix certain discreetary marks, are they who have been GREEDY OF FILTHY LUCRE, AND ENRICHED THEMSELVES BY PUBLIC OPPRESSION. THESE ARE THE USURERS, THE UNJUST JUDGES; THESE ARE THEY THAT HAVE INJURED THEIR NEIGHBOURS, AND THESE ARE THE PROUD, THE VAIN-GLORIOUS, AND THE ARROGANT."

It may be asked why I quote Mohammed in authority for this intelligent age? I answer, because the love of the neighbour should have a wider meaning than we have given it hitherto. Let our oriental neighbour have a thought in our minds, and an affection in our hearts; there is yet good enough in them to light our *far niente* bishops to heaven. Then is it not kind of me? For "peradventure," if lawn sleeves will not say good things to us, why then, in all charity, let some one else do it. Surely they do not wish to be dogs in the manger; I cannot persuade myself to believe that. Let the world see that good was before Episkopos was,—that the great and good First Cause has scarcely been benefited by man's advocacy and interpretation, nor by his feeble propagandi and questionable sincerity. Such blind leaders of the blind might almost better have instructed man as secular schoolmasters, unless they chose to live the life of goodness and truth by practice and precept, and allowed Divinity to stand forth in bold relief in Creation's stupendous work!—Creation's elaborate structure, Creation's symmetrical formation, Creation's chemical combination, Creation's infinitesimal illumination, assimilation, and geometrical adhesion, geological conception on deposition, vegetation, animation.

It is well to find less opprobrious appellations used by G. Sale in his late Korân, when writing upon Mohammed, than his predecessors employed; nevertheless he declares him to have imposed a false religion upon mankind, although he admits the praises due to his real virtues ought not to be denied him; admitting also the candour of Spanhemius, who, though he

owned him to be a wicked impostor, yet acknowledged him to have been "richly furnished with natural endowments, beautiful in his person, of a subtle wit, agreeable behaviour, showing LIBERALITY TO THE POOR, courtesy to every one, fortitude against his enemies, and, above all, a high reverence for the name of God. Severe against the perjured, adulterers, murderers, slanderers, prodigals, false witnesses, covetous, &c. A great preacher of patience, CHARITY, MERCY, BENIFICENCE, GRATITUDE," &c.

I thank Spanhemius for saying thus plainly what Mohammed was, since from the latter part of this quotation he declares his excellence, which he derives from history. These "good NATURAL ENDOWMENTS" do not agree with Spanhemius' first assertion, that he was an "IMPOSTOR." Now was not this rather uncharitable, and a piece of gratuitous condemnation entirely contradictory? For a man that is charitable, "in acts and deeds of liberality to the poor," who was patient, merciful, beneficent, and grateful, has the finest attributes that man is capable of possessing. How can a good quality be a "natural endowment" and an "imposition" also? Certainly, ecclesiastics know well the practices of the father confessors of old, and are not very likely to be credulous when excellence is either professed or practised; but I for one reserve my own judgment for myself. I know not why God should have chosen an impostor to say such good things, and do such good works. I suppose it was because not an honest man could be found in all the world—no, not one. Of course Spanhemius, G. Sale, and Abulfeda, were not either. Now he was honest enough to be an instrument in converting 180 millions of people from idolatry to the worship of the One God. Of course Mohammed had a multitude of enemies, amongst which were the Christians of his own time, whom he had accused of idolatry, and an idolatry which did exist, and still exists wherever the Madonna is worshipped.

Unlike this parvenu, Mohammed did not acquire riches nor titles; he called himself simply a preacher, and instead of destroying a constitution, he built one up. Now it is not only

an ancient practice, but a modern one, to say a thing was and is an imposition when we cannot understand it, and are too idle to attempt to learn. It was of old commonly said of the most Sacred One, "He hath a devil." Socrates also, who had a new light, was said to have a demoniacal spirit. It is not astonishing, then, that Mohammed was called an impostor. Did not the sceptical say the same of Noah and the tribes of Ad, and Thamud, and the people of Abraham, and the inhabitants of Madian? Did they not accuse their prophets of imposture? Moses was also charged with falsehood. Moreover, was it not said of Jesus Christ, "he is mad—let us crucify him?"

To relate the martyrdoms all nations have practised since that time because of their incredulity, or ignorance, or duplicity and selfishness, would be a tedious task, because of its frequent occurrence and its excessive enormity.

Were Luther, Melanethon, Calvin, or John Knox believed in more modern days, when they commenced their protestations? Was Swedenborg, or is he yet, believed? He is rejected simply because he is not understood. Were not all stigmatized as impostors by the orthodox of the day? Not only so, but by the selfishness of the day making blind the eyes of the public, so that they would not believe, though one rose from the dead.

To those who would say that Louis Napoleon has achieved great things, therefore he is a chosen of God, and is performing a good mission, I answer, Louis Napoleon never brought his people from idolatrous worship to the worship of one God; but he has taught the people, by his example, to perjure themselves, to enrich themselves by antechamber means, by jobbing on the Bourse, and by toadyism. His mission is one from the infernal regions, made evident by his works of perjury and self-aggrandisement at the expense of constitutional liberty.

When Louis Napoleon will tell me how he, together with Count de Morny, have in about twelve years made themselves the two richest men in France, I will then tell you his mission.

Abulfeda, as was Abdallah Edn Saad Ebn Abi Sarah, are



equally severe against this prophet Mohammed; the former very anxious that every sense shall be properly transcribed. In page 107, the Korân inquires, "Who is more wicked than he who forgeth a lie concerning God?" Savary's note is, "What can be more impious than to make God the accomplice of a falsehood?" Or, "This was revealed unto me when nothing hath been revealed unto him?"

I am not one of those who believe that inspiration called revelation is peculiar to any individual. Inspiration is an indefinite term; hence I believe Mohammed's amanuensis might have been inspired as well as his master, since all men are inspired with both good and evil;—inspiration is inbreathing. Now man not only expires and inspires naturally, but he does so spiritually; and the surrounding spiritual atmosphere of spirits good and evil, is what man inspires and expires, appropriates and rejects, for better or worse. According as the man holds the animal in subjection to the spiritual, he is under good inspirations; as he holds the spirit subjected to the animal propense, he is under evil inspirations. The pivot of human creation upon which all things hinge, is the *free will of man*, by which he can choose the one and reject the other, or he can reject the one and choose the other. The charitable in acts and deeds, patient, merciful, benificent and grateful characters, are being inspired with wisdom always, commensurate with the earnestness and activity which attend their good. The wicked, the selfish, the illiberal, the unjust, the extortioner, the robber of the poor especially, are, by their very acts and deeds, opening the gates to admit the evil genii; their inspirations are abominations, in proportion as they are actively and purposely selfish and sinful. Hence Divinity is ever revealing itself to the good, whilst Eblis = the fiery infernal genie, is distorting and confounding the evil and the good.

First Principles, then, are inspirations of the good principles commensurate with our sincerity in extending justness to all, the greater good to the greater number.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## MOHAMMED'S LAWS AND MAXIMS CONSIDERED.

Is our law of primogeniture better than Mohammed's divisions on property of deceased parents?\*

Again, will not the following injunction compare with any in our day?

"O my people, give full measure and just weight, and diminish not unto men aught of their matters; neither commit injustice in the earth, acting corruptly. The residue which shall remain unto you as the gift of God, after ye shall have done justice to others, will be better for you than wealth gotten by fraud, if ye be true believers."†

"Whatever good befalleth thee, O man, it is from God, and whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thyself."‡

Again,—“But whoso shall be covetous, and shall be wholly taken up with this world, and shall deny the truth of that which is most excellent, unto him will we facilitate the way to misery.” “And his riches shall not profit him when he shall fall headlong into hell.”§

It is not astonishing that men in general do not readily receive new views of theological nor philosophical enunciations, since great men's wives are not found to recognize their consorts' wisdom. “Noah's wife, named Waila, endeavoured to persuade the people her husband was distracted.”||

The fallacies of Mohammed are so fully explained in the writings of Swedenborg, that it would be supererogatory for me to do it here.

“Such as God shall lead the wicked into error.”¶ Swedenborg would say, Wickedness leadeth itself into error; God is

\* See The Korân, p. 61.

† Idem, p. 181.

‡ Idem, p. 70.

§ Idem, c. xcii. p. 491, 492.

|| Jallalo'ddinal Zamalech.

¶ The Korân, p. 207.

ever leading the wicked out of error, and withdrawing them from evil.

Yet Mohammed had an exalted conception of the forbearance of Divinity ; for he says, " If God should punish men for their iniquity, he would not leave on earth any moving thing."\*

Again, Mohammed says frequently, " The Lord punisheth the wicked." Swedenborg would say, " The wicked punish themselves ; sin carries with it its own retribution."

Mohammed approaches that idea when he says, " But works which are *permanent* are better in the sight of the Lord with respect to the reward, and better with respect to hope."†

The two houses are never divided against themselves. The good house is ever inducing to good, ever solicitous in reclaiming the evil to good, and the better to the best. The evil house is ever inducing to evil, and tempting the good to sin, the sinning to become the most sinful. The law of order is immaculate, immutable. The sensuous is ever insinuating her lustful, selfish, animal propense, portraying all in fascinating garb, dazzling, and gaudily beautiful, but the end of which is bitter as wormwood. The intelligently good is sensitive at the approach of evil ; is chaste, unselfish, and refined in thought, ever seeking to extend to all the goods and joys itself possesses. First Principles, then, are consistent with creative conception. Go forth and make man ; make him good, wise, and happy. Extend to man out of the bowels of the earth thy Divine unselfish genius, constituting ineffable good. O thou great First Cause, the curse of selfishness remove, withdraw that golden god, the darling idol of this 19th century : verily to this day we are Aaronites.

If Mohammed incurred much censure because he asserted that Miriam was sister to Aaron, peradventure I will, my good readers, take a like liberty with you, and even go beyond the prophet, and say that Britannia is sister to Aaron's golden calf ; yea, an idolator *dul fondo*—an hourly worshipper of the golden

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\* The Koran, p. 218.

† Ibid., 242.

idol, sacrificing First Principles in state and commerce, to one absorbing, infatuating thirst for money.

Or, if better to illustrate our national foible, verily I will introduce the prophet's Cow to John Bull for his fair espouse. Henceforth shall John Bull's horns be gilded, and he shall have a golden cow for a wife, and a golden calf for his daughter; then we will give him a golden rope, and verily he will hang himself; and down will fall Taurus, Great Britain's emblem! O what weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth, will there be among stock-jobbers, insiders and outsiders, Stags, Bulls, and Bears!

Verily, then, shall we say, Mohammed was a great prophet; that thirty golden bulls and buffaloes have drank up the waters in the River Euphrates, wherein they find mountains of gold; through the abundance of which these mighty accumulations will rise up in judgment against them, and will say: Wherefore, thou common bull, hast thou dared to use us thus? Thou that wast made of naught but clay, dare disturb us better born of Silurian birth! Thou superficial lump of mud, presume to trifle with such stuff as we; to smelt, and cut, and stamp thine own perfidious likeness on our burnished purity! Naught thou hast but will decay into corruption worse confounded. What in thy circle hast thou of which to boast? Thy very titles are bought by us. We buy your kings and sell 'em again. Thy courts are filthy, muddy pride, that turns all things good inside, and all things bad without, and *vice versa* when it suits them best. Thou wilt last but a day, whilst we live on to eternity; beside, our company surpasses all. When we condescend to trip about, we are sure to find you ruffians out. Bedecked with us thy gaudy splendour outshines all, but shows thy monkey's tail withal. Thou wouldst be gold but canst not, nor ever shall be; we keep better company henceforth; we rank among the thorough race, and now for ever bid adieu to your ugly face. Our sisters are amethysts, our brothers carbuncles, our fathers rubies, mothers emeralds, nephews jaspers, cousins are onyxes, diamonds, &c., up to all the number twelve, which formed the foundation of Jerusalem. Would you like

to make us? Old Harry's alchemists would, with all their worn-out crucibles, but they were not hard enough, just because your heads are made too soft. Dare never again to hoard us up, or we will rise up mountains high out of the Red Sea, and again make thy hoardings valueless. Nor seek in numbers few to grasp too much, for we are made of better stuff; our nature, pure and good, will have all share alike or none. So now take care, and let not thy muddy claws o'erreach too far, or with thy calf of gold will I destroy thee.

We are constrained to say, verily, *Pecunie obediunt omnes*.

But enough has been said, and man knows enough: the practice of doing right and acting justly is what is required. Why, of the great crying evils of this day, a LITTLE CHILD might BE FOUND TO BE THE PROPER ADMONISHER, that has not yet received the pollution of state nor of commerce. It might be said, "But a child has had no experience of the world." God forbid, then, that it should, if it have but to learn compromised expediency and the balances of power upheld by corruption.

I waste my ink in vain unless it lead to better practices of simple good and truth. No knowledge that I can convey will benefit this stiffnecked people of England without the practice of good, unless I tell all these influential men, where and when they practise villany. Mohammed, at least, was unselfish, and sought not to enrich himself. His immense toil was liberally given for the good of his country. He received no payment of tithes; he gave his whole time and energy freely and without reward. Our bishops would do well to notice and acknowledge this. "I ask not of you any reward for preaching; it is your own, either to give or not. My reward is to be expected from God alone."\*

The general admission that Mohammed was unlearned arises out of the fact that he certainly did not commence his studies till after he was forty years of age. This proves that he was unfettered with the orthodox of his day, who were the teachers

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\* The Koran, cap. xxxiv. page 356.



of idolatry. Had he been educated in the idolatrous schools, he never, in all probability, would have been a reformer, but that he afterwards applied himself to learning, and became the greatest preacher in his day, cannot be denied. He frequently, in the Korân, calls himself the illiterate prophet ; which might be in allusion to the derision of his enemies. Learning would appear to be of little use if individuals become the greatest men without it. He was not only the greatest preacher and the best ; but the greatest warrior, the greatest and best statesman, and the greatest lawgiver in his day : but since he was not a collegiate of idolatry, of course he was illiterate. As attempts are made amongst the collegiates of Great Britain to cast into insignificance the great spirits of our day that wear not the scholastic Cantab or Oxonian.

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## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### MOHAMMED'S TRADITION OF TEN SORTS OF WICKED MEN BEARING DISCRETORY MARKS.

“THE first will appear in the form of apes—these are the professors of Zendeism. The second in that of swine ; these are they who have been guilty of FILTHY LUCRE, and ENRICHED THEMSELVES BY PUBLIC OPPRESSION. The third will be brought with their HEADS REVERSED AND THEIR FEET DISTORTED ; these are the USURERS. The fourth will wander about blind ; these are unjust judges. The fifth will be *deaf, dumb, and blind* ; these are they who glory in their works. The sixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breasts, corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like spittle, so that everybody shall detest them ; these are the learned men and the doctors, WHOSE ACTIONS CONTRADICT THEIR SAYINGS. The seventh will have their hands and feet cut off ; these are the false accusers and informers. The ninth will stink worse than a corrupted corpse ; these are they who have indulged their



passions and voluptuous appetites, but refused God such part of their wealth as was due to him. The tenth will be clothed with garments daubed with pitch ; and these are the proud, the vainglorious, and the arrogant.”\*

Where this judgment is to take place, the Magi of old have not decided, neither have they decided when ; but certain it is that the Arabians, Syrians, Chaldeans, and Mesopotamians were better admonished by the prophets, Magians, and doctors of their day, than are Europeans by our Episcopi in this year of our Lord 1859.

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## CHAPTER XL.

### A COMPARISON BETWEEN MOSLEMS AND BRITONS.

COMPARE our Stock Exchange, where all is mercenary, selfish, and strategical, with Al-Meisar, or casting lots by arrows. Among the Arabs, “the *winners* tasted not of the flesh any more than the *losers*, but the whole was distributed AMONG THE POOR.”† This custom, although afterwards forbidden by Mohammed, because of its leading to heartburnings and quarrels, was nevertheless a brilliant specimen of the unselfishness of that epoch. Not one single game in Great Britain have we that can compare with this game of lots, wherein the poor are made to be the only gainers by the diversions of the rich. The Stock Exchange is the antipodes of such practices. Instead of the losers not suffering more than the gainers on our Royal Exchange, under “royal patronage” the losers are made to sustain all the loss, and the gainers retain all the gain. Who, after this, will say that we are religiously or even morally progressing ? Must it not be admitted that we are infinitely inferior even to the Moslems ? Let one and all cry aloud, openly and

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\* Prel. Dis. sec. iv. p. 61.

† Ibid. sec. v. p. 89.

everywhere, "Shame!" So shamefully have our State, Church, and Lawgivers disregarded First Principles, that our kings taught us exchange jobbing, our priests taught us to rob the poor, and countenance all jobberies of royal introduction, our laws but furnish means of perpetuating the iniquity—scrupulously avoiding notice of any enormities when of royal origin, sacerdotal prestige, or legal ratification, however base and universally injurious they bear down upon the people.

Is it not as becoming in us to punish the practice of gaming as it was in the Moslems? Has not the practice with us become so familiar that it is no longer seen to be vice? Is it not, therefore, the more dangerous, and has not that danger been made evident? Has it not led to plunder and murder—Palmer, to wit?

Of old, under the name of Lots, the commentators agree that all other games whatsoever which are subject to hazard or chance are comprehended, and forbidden; as, dice, cards, tables, &c.; and they are reckoned so bad in themselves, that the TESTIMONY OF HIM WHO PLAYS AT THEM is, by the more rigid, judged to be of NO VALIDITY IN A COURT OF JUSTICE.\* Gaming houses were reckoned scandalous places among the Greeks, and a GAMESTER IS DECLARED BY ARISTOTLE TO BE NO BETTER THAN A THIEF.†

The Roman Senate made very severe laws against playing at games of hazard.‡ The Jews, also, highly disapproved of gaming; gamesters being severely censured in the Talmud, and their testimony declared invalid.§

Again I inquire who, after this, will declare that Europe has progressed? Much less, are we living with a sacred regard to principles of action of equal rectitude with even the Arabians, Greeks, Romans, or even the ancient Jews? Let us trace the effect up to the cause, and we shall see at a glance that all our

\* Vide Hyde, de Ludis Oriental. in Prolog. ad Shahiludium.

† Lib. 4, ad Nicom.

‡ Vide Horat. lib. 3. Carm. Od. 24.

§ Bava Messia, 84, 1; Rosh hashana and Sanhedr. 24, 2.

depravity has had its origin in allying a Church with the State that has regarded the human master regal, rather than the Divine Master universal; a departure from Christian First Principles has arisen, and human third principles have been substituted.

Our laws were not based upon Christian First Principles, our New Testament was never made the basis of our civil laws, nor have its precepts determined our adjudications, as the Korân founded the civil laws of the Moslems, and as the Pentateuch founded the civil laws of the Jews. Hence our laws have grown more human and less Divine, more third-rate and less first-rate, and ever will, so long as our grand means of religious propagation is gagged by courtly preferment—so long as the reverse of good is indulged in and winked at.

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## CHAPTER XLI.

THE ANALOGY IN THE GRADUAL PROCESS OF REGENERATION IN MAN, TO THE SLOW OPERATION OF EXALTING THE VALLEYS AND MAKING THE HILLS LOW, THE CROOKED PLACES STRAIGHT, AND THE ROUGH PLACES PLAIN.

THE progress of the earth towards an evenness of surface, and a nearer approach to a level, is a gradual and slow operation, which is aided by chemical actions, by vegetable productions, *débris*, decompositions, and reproductions; by the aid, also, of animal life and decay, and by the assistance of man, in his varied avocations, during his career on earth. But as if it were a work intended by Providence to be carried on, we find, among the other agencies that have always operated geologically, is gravity. Hitchcock says, "Its chief effect is to bring the earth's surface nearer and nearer to a level, by causing the materials which other agencies have loosened from their salient

parts, to subside into its cavities and valleys. It also condenses many substances from a gaseous to a liquid or solid state, especially those deep in the earth's crust; and thus brings the particles more within reach of cohesive attraction and chemical affinity, often changing the constitution, and always the solidity of bodies."\*

What a striking analogy have we here to the slowly progressing work going on; how gradually are the rough and prominent characteristics in man becoming softened down, worn away into an even and more consistent mode of living. How rough is the uncultivated mind, how offensive the manners of the ignorant; often, too, because they are the accompaniments of vice; in fact, the tendencies that are always perverted must be consistently worked upon by slow and gradual media, the operations of which correspond to production, decomposition, and reproduction, which the movements of the earth's crust represent. One impulse gives rise to another, one argument throws down another, until our foregone conclusions, and many teachings founded upon even some of the observations of our senses, are at last found to be very defective; constantly deceiving us, and leading us into error, until we begin to doubt, and think, and question our old modes of thought, which thus dissolve and pass away; one course of life thus dies, from the ruins of which is reproduced another course of life, which in its time will be seen to have faults, be dissolved, and a further renewal takes place; until the crudities of our nature begin to wear a more even and agreeable tone, bringing with it more happiness to ourselves and to others.

The agencies that are constantly loosening the earth's crust, arise greatly out of their absorbing tendencies, loosening the adhesions, and thus crumbling the mass. The agencies that dissolve man's stubborn nature arise out of a quality within, capable of receiving Divine impressions; loosening the animal tenacity, and thus making way for further acquirements.

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\* Reliq. of Geol. p. 215.



## CHAPTER XLII.

ALL THINGS IN CREATION ARE ANALOGOUS TO SPIRIT, OR CAUSALITY, BECAUSE ALL CREATION HAS ITS CAUSALITY IN SPIRIT.

How analogous is the gaseous and the vaporous or nebular state, to that of the expansion and illumination of the mind, soaring by means of the imagination until affection for the practical, analogous to gravity, influences the reason, concentrates and brings the towering thoughts within the reach of cohesion, by the harmony and fitness which induces attraction ; analogous to chemical affinity and gravitation.

This operation often changes the constitution, and always the solidity of bodies. This accounts for the tendency we have to soar into the ideal, and often to revel and delight in the poetry of life ; the enjoyment of which may contribute as much towards our transitory happiness as the realities of ordinary life. But the change of composition has taken place when the mind turns back to the realities of life ; the mind having extended itself further than before, returns with acquisitions that could only have been obtained by its extension. Exploration, then, into immateriality, can be made productive of good where the object is good and unselfish ; since by it a change of the body itself is actually effected.

A few facts of clairvoyance might here be mentioned.

The analogous correspondence of chemistry, or rarefaction, more clearly illustrates this fact. By passing a current of gas, or even common air, through a liquid, the longer the action continues the more the constituent parts are altered.

It has yet to be proved that material life is the most important consideration,—or rather, the contrary is certainly true, however much we may be inclined to ridicule the ideal. It is necessary, of course, to provide for the body, and the daily requirements of life, in order to live ; but do our labours stop here ? Does not a great proportion of our toils go towards the upholding of pride and vanity ? Having provided for the



necessaries of life, we find our anxieties and labours occupied in providing for the vain and superfluous. We find the old-fashioned lover of the substantial, in his orthodox and aldermanic solidity, delving largely into the ideal for show and parade of state, and even soaring into the visionary might of the potentate; calculating largely on the pleasure which honours and titles are to bring him. He dreams of parade and power, while he would scorn and deride the poet who attempts to mount the spiritual world in thought, though spirit, or etherealization, be the element in which thought dwells. The same would despise the mathematician and astronomer, who could calculate the distances of other systems, and tell us their myriads of millions of miles from us; or how fast sight travels; or the future condition and destiny of the earth. The same would rather depend upon the evidences of his senses, which are every day deceiving him, than live in the scientific world, where he could enjoy the splendid visions and delineations of the good and beautiful.

The proximity to the spirit-nature is the proximity to Causality—to present sustentation—to purification and perfection—to the elementary law which regulates First Principles.

Barthelemy corroborates this in an epitome on the philosophy of Plato:—

“There exist two worlds—one visible, the other ideal; the former, formed upon the model of the latter, is what we inhabit. It is here that everything, being subject to birth and decay, unceasingly changes; it is here that we see only *images and fragmentary portions of the Esse*. The other, or intellectual world, contains the essences and patterns of all visible objects; and these essences are real existences, since they are unchangeable.

“Two kings, of whom one is the servant and minister of the other, shed their lustre on these two worlds. From the lofty sky the sun illumines and perpetuates those objects which he renders visible to our eyes; from the most elevated region of the intellectual world, the Supreme Good produces and preserves the essences which he renders visible to our souls. The sun enlightens us by his light, the Supreme Good by his truth; and as our eyes have distinct perceptions when they rest upon any object upon which the light of day falls, so our soul acquires true knowledge when it meditates upon the beings from which truth is reflected.”

The mind dwells in thought, and the spirit sustains thought, enabling it to conceive the things of heaven and earth : the natural mind earthly, conceiving the things of earth ; the spiritual mind heavenly, conceiving the things of heaven : but the spirit sustaining both of high and low degree.\*

As atmospheric air is a purifier of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, sometimes containing the warm and the genial, sometimes the cold and the stimulating,—so is elementary vitality the purifier of man's internal and even external nature ; and ever will be, for this purification is the very object of life, without which we live but to our condemnation. Progress, improvement, and purification are the objects of life. In the "Intellectual Repository," for April, "On Purgatory—a fiction of priestcraft, and the perversion of a great truth,"—it was remarked, that "This universal law of purification is stamped upon creation, and is a condition of its preservation. Thus nature is a theatre, representative of the Creator's kingdom, the invisible things of which may be understood by the things which are made. The atmosphere, the waters of the ocean, and the earth itself, require constant purification and renovation to preserve them in their proper condition, to fulfil their uses and destinies. Every vegetable requires to be purified of its grosser sap and juices, in order that its sour and bitter qualities may be partially removed, and its sweetness and maturity developed and brought to perfection ; the mode by which this is accomplished is also a process of purification. In the animal kingdom, and especially in the human body, this law is universal, and is the essential condition of its preservation. Thus in the body all the viscera and the organs serve as the essentials to purify the chyle, the humours, and the blood, upon which the health of the entire system depends. But the human body is the image of the mystical body, or heaven ; and as the things which are made, illustrate, or enable us to understand, the invisible things of God's kingdom, we may readily

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\* "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."—Rom. i. 20.

infer from this, that heaven, or rather the inhabitants of heaven, are constantly the subjects of purification."

In the same valuable periodical, the "Intellectual Repository," No. 17, May, 1855—(a work that I wish to bring prominently before you, because few are its present readers; arising, perhaps, out of the quietness of its promoters, rather than any want of merit in itself; on the contrary, I consider it the most profound theological and philosophical periodical extant; providing the world with food they require in this day; wherein the learned and scientific as well as the religious can eat and drink to the sustenance of their spirits and the delight of their souls, without the shackles of modern bondage fettering the free expression of deep thought and research,)—in page 203, a Treatise on the Causes of Health clearly demonstrates the influence the spirit-world has upon the material world, and that material substances are merely the plane and ground, into which (a more ethereal and vital) spirit flows, causing life and operation, animation and activity, to everything in and upon the earth.

The following chapter contains some very important passages from Swedenborg, which we extract for the thoughtful.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

THE ELEMENTARY VITAL, OR, IN MODERN VERNACULAR, SPIRITUAL WORLD, IS THE WORLD OF CAUSES, AND THE NATURAL IS THE WORLD OF EFFECTS IN HEALTH AND SANITARY CONDITIONS, AS IT IS ALSO IN CONDITIONS OF UNSOUNDNESS AND DISEASE.

*"The Causes of Health ; or, Real Sanitary Measures.*

"THE material substances in the world are the ultimate plane or ground into which the influence, both good and evil, of the spiritual world operate. All objects and materials which are useful to man

are in accordance with heavenly influx, and are ultimate planes upon which objects useful and delightful to mankind are produced by the Lord through the spiritual world. For the spiritual world is the world of causes, and the natural is the world of effects; and as diseases are effects, the causes which produce them are consequently in the spiritual world. It hence follows, that malignant spheres from unclean and evil spirits, who are more or less closely associated with us whilst we live in this world, are the exciting and fomenting causes of all the maladies, both bodily and mental, to which mankind are liable. This will be easily seen when the *close relationship* between the spiritual and the natural world is properly understood; for we must not think, as some do who are not properly instructed, that the spiritual world is *located at a distance* from the natural world, but that it is as closely in relation and conjunction with it as the soul is with the body. The natural world may hence be said to be the material body of the spiritual world, which is its soul. Thus man's natural body, with its functions and its life, is his natural world, and his soul, with its life and its functions both of will and of intellect, is his spiritual world, and we all know the close relationship which exists between them. Hence many diseases of the body may be directly traced to causes in the excited, troubled, anxious and sinful states of our *animus*, or external mind, which proves that diseases have their origin in the spiritual world.

"In order to the production of any effect, there must be a primary and an instrumental cause; the primary or essential cause of diseases exists in the spiritual world, and especially in that part of it which is called hell; the instrumental cause exists in the perverse states of our depraved mental condition, and also in the impure physical conditions and circumstances by which we are surrounded. That we bring with us by inheritance into the world a depraved mental condition, or that we are the subjects of hereditary evil (Psalm li. 5), is testified both by experience and by Revelation. This corrupt inheritance is fraught with tendencies and dispositions to evil, and is easily susceptible of influences from evil spirits, whose nature corresponds to, and harmonizes with, the evil to which we, by our inherited nature, are prone. Thus, if my progenitors had, by their habits of life, contracted an avaricious, a proud and despotic nature, loving to be pre-eminent and to exercise dominion over



others, I shall from them inherit, by the very laws of generation, a nature more or less strongly disposed to cherish and to practise similar evils ; and as I grow up and become developed as to my native tendencies, these dispositions will not only become apparent, but to exercise them will become the especial delight of my nature ; and if it were not for a merciful and all-wise provision of my Maker, I could no more be restrained from the exercise of those native tendencies, than the wolf, or the tiger, or the swine can be restrained from the indulgence and exercise of the tendencies of their nature. But I not only receive a nature from my progenitors with tendencies to evil,—I also receive from my divine Parent an inheritance with opposite tendencies, inclining me to what is good, upright, just, and honourable. This inheritance from the divine Parent is what is called *remains*, and is denoted in the Scriptures by the *remnant* left in the land after judgments and desolations have done their work, respecting which many passages might be quoted.\* But besides this inheritance from the divine Parent to counteract the evil tendencies of the inheritance from the earthly parent, there are innumerable means provided of the Lord's Divine Mercy and Providence, to induce us to restrain and deny our evil tendencies, and to cherish and to practise opposite dispositions. Thus, the entire system of civil, or political, and moral society is established on the idea, and with the design, that a man shall restrain his tendencies and dispositions to evil, and cherish and practise the opposite virtues. But the principal means which the Lord has provided to enable us to overcome these evil states, and thus to receive a new nature from Him, is His Holy Word, by which man can be instructed in Divine Truth, and thus, through Divine Mercy and Power, be led to see his evils, and to resist and overcome them. For it is Divine Truth, as revealed in God's Word, which alone can remove evil as to its roots, and radically change and regenerate our nature. Thus, 'a pure and undefiled religion,' is the greatest *sanitary measure* for the removal of all evils both as to the spirit and the body ; for this involves every idea of cleanliness, and consequently the removal of all impurities both of mind and of body, which impurities are, as above stated, the means of attract-

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\* See Swedenborg's *Arcana Cælestia*, Index.—*Remains*.



ing infernal influences, which are the principal causes of all diseases.

“Swedenborg, in the following extracts, shows to us the great necessity of cleanliness, or the removal, both from our persons and our abodes, of every unclean substance, which serves as a ground of infernal influx, into which it can operate, and engender all kinds of malignant diseases and distressing calamities amongst men : —

“*All Things which are evil Uses are in Hell, and all Things which are good Uses are in Heaven.*—Before it can be seen that all evil uses which exist upon earth are not from the Lord, but from hell, something must be premised concerning heaven and hell ; which, unless it be known, evil uses as well as good may be attributed to the Lord, and supposed to exist together from the creation, or may be attributed to nature, and their origin to its sun : from these two errors man cannot be delivered, unless he knoweth that nothing whatsoever exists in the natural world which doth not derive its cause, and thence its origin, from the spiritual world, and that the good is from the Lord, and the evil from the devil, that is from hell. By the spiritual world is meant both heaven and hell. In heaven appear all those things which are good uses, of which mention is made in the preceding article ; but in hell appear all those things which are evil uses, of which above, n. 338, where they are enumerated ; which are wild beasts of all kinds, as serpents, scorpions, dragons, crocodiles, tigers, wolves, foxes, swine, owls, birds of night, screech owls, bats, mice and rats, frogs, locusts, spiders, and noxious insects of many kinds : there appear also poisonous and deleterious plants of all kinds, and deadly poisons as well in herbs as in earths ; in a word, all things which are noxious and deadly to men : such things in the hells appear to the life, as they do upon the earth and in it. It is said that they appear there, but still they are not there as upon earth, for they are mere correspondences of the cupidities which spring from the evil loves of the inhabitants, and present themselves before others in such forms. Forasmuch as such things are in the hells, therefore they also abound in foul and offensive smells, as cadaverous, stercoraceous, urinous, and putrid smells, with which the diabolical spirits are delighted, as poisonous animals are delighted with them. From

these considerations it may appear, that such things in the natural world did not derive their origin from the Lord, neither were they created from the beginning, neither did they originate from nature by her sun, but that they are from hell : that they are not from nature by her sun is evident from this, that what is spiritual flows-in into what is natural, and not *vice versâ* : and that they are not from the Lord is evident from this, that hell is not from Him, therefore neither anything in hell which corresponds to the evils of its inhabitants.

“ *There is a continual Influx from the Spiritual World into the Natural World.*—He who doth not know that there is a spiritual world, and that it is distinct from the natural world like what is prior and what is posterior, or like the cause and the thing caused, cannot know any thing of this influx : this is the reason why they who have written concerning the origin of vegetables and animals, could not deduce it otherwise than from nature ; and if from God, then they supposed that God from the beginning endued nature with a power of producing such things ; thus did they know that nature is not endued with any power, for in herself she is dead, and no more contributes to produce the above things than doth the instrument to produce the work of the artist, which must be perpetually moved in order that it may act : it is the spiritual principle, which derives its origin from the sun where the Lord is, and proceeds to the ultimates of nature, which produces the forms of vegetables and animals, and furnishes the wonderful things which exist in both, and gives them consistency by matters from the earth, to the end that those forms may be fixed and constant. Now, forasmuch as it is made known that there is a spiritual world, and that the spiritual principle is from the sun where the Lord is, and which is from the Lord, and that this spiritual principle impels nature to act, as that which is living actuates that which is without life, also that there are things in that world similar to the things in the natural world, it may hence be seen that vegetables and animals existed no otherwise than through that world from the Lord, and that through it they perpetually exist ; and, therefore, that there is a continual influx from the spiritual world into the natural. That this is the case, will be confirmed by many considerations in the following article. That things noxious are produced upon earth by influx from hell, is from the same law of permission whereby evils

themselves flow from thence into men ; which law will be spoken of in *the Angelic Wisdom concerning the Divine Providence*.

“*The influx from Hell operates those things which are evil Uses, in places where there are things which correspond to them.*—The things which correspond to evil uses, that is, to malignant herbs and noxious animals, are cadaverous, putrid, excrementitious, and stercoraceous, rancid, and urinous matters ; wherefore, in places where these are, such herbs and animalcula exist as are mentioned above ; and in the torrid zones like things of a larger size, as serpents, basilisks, crocodiles, scorpions, and others. Every one knows that lakes, stagnant waters, dung, stinking earth, are full of such things ; also that noxious insects fill the atmosphere like clouds, and noxious worms the earth like armies, and consume the herbs even to the roots. I once observed in my garden, that in the space of an ell almost all the dust was turned into very small insects, for on being stirred with a stick they rose up like clouds. That cadaverous and stinking matters accord with those noxious and useless animacula, and that they are homogeneous is evident from experience alone : which may be manifestly seen from the cause, which is, that there are similar fetid and offensive smells in the hells, where such animalcula also appear ; wherefore those hells have their names from thence, and some are called cadaverous, some stercoraceous, some urinous, and so on ; but they are all covered, lest those exhalations should transpire from them ; for when they are opened a little, as is the case when novitiate devils enter, they excite vomitings and pains in the head, and such as are at the same time poisonous induce swoonings ; the dust itself there also is such, wherefore it is there called damned dust : hence it is evident, that where there are such stenches, there are such noxious things, because they correspond.’—*D. L. W.* 339, 340, 341.

“From this we may see the great necessity of those sanitary measures which have for their object the removal of all kinds of uncleanness, whether from the localities in which we live, or from the atmosphere which we breathe, or from the materials upon which we daily subsist. We likewise see how great a crime against all justice and charity to the neighbour those persons commit, who adulterate, or in any way pervert, the substances we employ as our daily food. Such persons, by such conduct, which has its origin in the sordid motive of illicit gains, become the instrumental causes,

in the power of hell, to destroy the health, comfort, and happiness of the human race ; how great, then, is the crime which, alas ! so commonly prevails, of adulterating the materials of our daily food, and how grievous will be the penalties which sooner or later must overtake the perpetrators of such criminality !

“The encampment of the people of Israel was a type of the order of heaven, and the strict injunction to remove all filth from the camp, and to bury it in the wilderness (Deut. xxiii. 13), was a striking correspondence to the rejection into the hells of all sin and impurity from the mind, which, in its regenerate state, was represented by the order in which the people of Israel encamped, with the Lord and his sanctuary in the midst of the encampment. *Had any filthy substances been visible within or around the camp, a plane or ground would have been formed for the influx from hell, corresponding to the nature of the unclean substance, to operate, and thus deadly diseases and plagues would have burst forth and destroyed the people. It is true that the law of representatives, and of corresponding influx from the spiritual world, does not now exist in that force in which it existed in the representative church of Israel ; nevertheless, the general law still obtains, and we have the strongest inducements to adopt every sanitary measure for the removal of every thing injurious to the health of the body ; and, if by self-denial and repentance we remove from our spirits all evil intentions, and all impure, deceitful, malignant, envious, and revengeful thoughts, which indicate an association with unclean spirits and devils, we shall, through the Lord’s mercy and power, adopt the most sanitary measures, and remove the causes of all evils, which, when mentioned in the Word, are spiritually understood by filth, as in the following passages :—Psalm xiv. 3, liii. 3 ; Isaiah iv. 4, lxiv. 6 ; Zeph. iii. 1 ; 1 Peter iii. 21 ; 2 Peter ii. 7 ; Rev. xxii. 11 ; which the reader may consult.”*

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## CHAPTER XLIV.

THE PERCIPIENT KNOWLEDGE OF THE ELEMENTARY LAW  
AMONG THE ANCIENTS. PHERECIDES REMARKS: "MEN WILL  
BE JUDGED NOT BY THE INCENSE . . . BUT BY THE  
VIRTUES THEY SHALL HAVE PRACTISED."

THE idea of an elementary law seems to have entered the minds of many of the ancient philosophers, as well as the modern; and while the force and importance of the essentiality of this law pervaded their minds, it awakened conceptions in them varying in modes of expression, according to their times and customs; modified too often by the governmental scruples and scepticisms which cramped and fettered the progress of genius.

Although Cicero and St. Augustine honoured Pherecides as one of the Seven Sages of Greece, and one who taught most efficiently the immortality of the soul, this did much to destroy the influence of the priesthood—their offerings and sacrifices—among the Greeks. Then, as amongst us now, philosophy had a tendency to denounce existing formalities, which had lost their vitality, and become mere empty vessels. The elementary law, or the simplicity of First Principles—the simplicity of nature uncompounded with the usages and offerings of Greece in that day—was seen by Pherecides, to which we might with profit refer in this our day. He says:—"The ever-just gods regard men without respect to persons; they ask neither offerings nor sacrifices; they do not favour some in preference to others; in short, they will judge us not by the incense which we shall have burned upon their altars, *but by the virtues we shall have practised.*" \*

That the elementary law has had analogies in terms that are

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\* Mehemet Ali had inscribed on the walls of his palace the same great truth in Arabic,—"One hour of justice is worth seventy hours of prayer."

universal and in material elements, such as water and air, is evident from the importance attached to these elements by the ancients; an universal elementary something, representing First Principles, seems to have pervaded the minds of all philosophers, however varied—the object and purpose appear evident in all.

Water represents, in the language of correspondence, truth—Divine wisdom. Truth is an elementary law—a first principle; Divine wisdom is the same: the origin of all things may be traced to First Principles, and to these two—Truth and Good.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### LOVE AND WISDOM THE ELEMENTARY CAUSALITY OF ALL CREATION.

THALES, chief of the Ionian school, traced the origin of all things to water. Freret says that the Chinese regard water as the first principle of being. Heraclitus says, “Fire is the origin of all things.” Now, fire corresponds to love, and love to good; so that, if we put Thales and Heraclitus together, we have the elementary law again in the form of truth and good, the origin of all things.

How far shall we be thought, then, to be revelling in the ideal, when we assert that, in this nineteenth century, love and wisdom make the elementary Causality in the creation of this world, since, in our vernacular—elementally speaking—love and wisdom, in their essence, are creative and Divinity? To be elementarily influenced is to be influenced by First Causes—to be influenced by love and wisdom, to be guided by good and truth; hence, to know whether your quality of spirit be of good or of devils, ask yourself if you are influenced by love and

wisdom, and guided by good and truth? Or, is it from the evil and the false, the bad and the perverted?

Love and wisdom are the indubitable origination of Divinity, and we think no sound mind will doubt it. How happy and assured ought we to feel (and to produce these feelings permanently is the object of his creation) as the beings of His creation, in so far as we exercise the free will He blessed us with, in choosing the good rather than the evil! By rejecting the self-acquired evils in our degenerate nature, so we become happier and better in our sphere of generation and regeneration. The special object of our existence ever was, and is, that we become the image of our Great Original—the likeness of Him who made us—*i.e.*, the image of love and wisdom. We shall then find that there is a beautiful reality in that which some denounce as ideal, whether we regard the sun as this emblem of the Great Original, or the mighty waters of the seas; each grand and vast as a symbol, but falling so immeasurably short of their great Prototype, even when aided by the language of correspondence, that it is no wonder that the philosophers of old did not become universally accepted, however much their respective philosophies were admired in their day, and interest us by their profundity in our day.

Had Anaximenes used the air as a *symbol* or *type* of the elementary spirit, instead of a *principle* of itself, he would not have confounded the soul with air, and called it an aërial substance. I have no doubt he meant to convey the idea of a spiritual substance by taking the lightest material substance that then occurred to him. Had analogies then been generally regarded as they are now by the German school, we should have found their philosophy and theology sound and excellent. It is remarkable that during the prevalence of typical churches the meaning of these types was not taught, and more generally understood; it would appear that either the people were not then sufficiently educated, or that the governmental church endeavoured to maintain the mysteries as secrets, and therefore thereby retain the credit of learning amongst themselves; and so by their exclusive use of analogies become oracular, and thus

be building up their own temples instead of God's—rendering, for their own selfish purpose, even religion (which should be simple and clear) confused and mysterious.

Contrast the narrow-mindedness of the Church people of that day with the liberality and candour of the philosophers that were their contemporaries.

Unfortunately, the same contrast exists in our day, with our State-Church people and our philosophers.

If, therefore, by their fruits you shall know them, philosophers retain their deserved laurels up to this our day, as of old; for in their philosophy they have ever held fast the true spirit of religion; and instead of having lost sight of God, or closed him from man's view (unlike a church fond of mysteries), they have ever been revealing Him with grander illustrations, with which philosophy and science have furnished them. They develope Divinity to all the earth, and show Him forth in grandeur, and that inconceivable magnitude, which science can furnish. They unfold Divinity through His immeasurable works.

Whether we speak of the elementary influence operating upon man, or that the Holy Spirit is the First Cause, I believe we mean but the same as the ancients understood by the Infinite; whether we understand them like Anaximander, who believed it was not an abstraction by which creation is sustained, but a substance, or with many of the others, when rightly understood. I consider, of course, these are not saving points; the practice of virtue I conceive to be the saving point. It is not an indication of great progress that our highest rational deduction, after all, in this nineteenth century, can only resolve itself into the conclusion of Pherecides—arrived at so long ago—that we are estimated by the “ever-just gods (God) . . . by the *virtues [only] we shall have practised.*”

As we become more conversant with the ancients, and without prejudice penetrate into the quality of motives and ends in view altogether from a love of truth, without regard to our denominational or sectarian professions, we shall find sentiments of affection and wisdom abounding amongst them, ex-



pressed in such terse and forcible sayings, as that we can only conclude they possessed a concentration of wisdom and an admiration for virtue remarkable for that age, and which puts to blush many of the claimants for the same in this our day of progress.

We cannot employ time more profitably than by examining a few of the ancient schools that prevailed in that day. E. Richer, author of the "Religion of Good Sense," and many other works, furnishes us these testimonies of ancient philosophers in a graphic and useful form, which must be read with profit and admiration. Translated from the French, they appeared in that excellent work, the "Intellectual Repository" for May, No. 17, vol. II. New Series. Therein we find the doctrines and principles which are to form a new church, testified by the ancient philosophers.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

TESTIMONIES FROM ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS TO THE TRUTH OF FIRST PRINCIPLES; WHICH ARE ALSO IN REMARKABLE HARMONY WITH THE DOCTRINES AND PHILOSOPHY OF SWEDENBORG.\*

"We turn to the philosophers who have subjected these traditional testimonies to the tribunal of reason. The first country in Europe which gave birth to philosophy, is that Greece whose genius enlightened our ancestors, and shed over Europe the rays of that light of which it had become the only depository. The most favourite hypothesis, says M. Deguando, is that which ascribes the ancient Grecian philosophy to Asiatic traditions; so that we shall here

\* Translated from the French of E. Richer, author of "The Religion of Good Sense," &c. &c.—"Intellectual Repository," May, 1855.

meet with the same truths as in the former article, changed only in their form.

“Cicero and St. Augustin honour Pherecides, one of the seven sages of Greece, and the instructor of Pythagoras, as being the first to teach the immortality of the soul. Another dogma attributed to Pherecides, agrees also with those received in the New Church :— ‘The ever-just gods,’ says he, ‘regard men without respect of persons ; they ask neither offerings nor sacrifices ; they do not favour some in preference to others ; in short, they will judge us, not by the incense which we shall have burned upon their altars, but by the virtues we shall have practised.’ This system destroyed the influence of the priesthood among the Greeks, as amongst us it renders superfluous all interference of a third party between man and God.

“Thales, chief of the Ionian school, traced the origin of all things to water, which belongs, in some respects, to the system of emanations, since water has itself proceeded from the condensation of these latter. Bruker discovers points of agreement between this hypothesis and the traditions of the Indians and Egyptians. Freret says, that the Chinese regard water as the first principle of being. It is possible that this assertion contains a true cosmogony, of which the signification was unknown to the philosophers who transmitted it. In the language of correspondence, apparently known to the Orientals, *water* represents Truth, Divine Wisdom, the Word of which St. John speaks ; and it is this Word, according to the Evangelists as well as the Greek philosophers, which created the universe. This truth is imaged in the church by the water poured upon the head of him who receives the new birth.

“Anaximander, a disciple of Thales, is the author of that fertile principle ‘that nothing proceeds from nothing.’ ‘The Infinite,’ adds he, ‘is the beginning of all things,’ and this Infinite, according to him, was not an abstraction, but a *substance*. Anaximenes, admitting as a first cause the infinite substance of Anaximander, wished to define it. The air appeared to him to be this principle. The soul, according to him, was an ærial substance. Anaxagoras soon freed the divine substance from all admixture,—the universe, with him, was an effect of which God was the cause. The God of

his predecessors was only a Power,—he represented him as Intelligence.

“With the Italian School appeared a philosophy less dogmatic, and more tinged with that mysticism which is the food of ardent minds. Pythagoras founded a doctrine of which the principle is, that God is not out of the world, but in the world, and throughout the whole universe. In the eyes of the Pythagoreans the universe was a living, animated Being. They believed in genii, and attached great importance to dreams. These genii or demons were, in their opinion, an intermediate species between God and man, and communicated with men by means of dreams and divinations. This is a near approach to true spiritual intercourse. Dacier, in his discourse on the doctrine of Plato, says that that philosopher had followed Pythagoras in intellectual truths, and thus describes the doctrine of the latter :—‘He taught that there is only One God, the Creator of all things ; that the soul is immortal ; that men ought to labour to be freed from their passions and vices, in order to be united to God ; that after this life there is a reward for the good and a punishment for the wicked ; that between God and men there are ministering spirits who fulfil the will of the former.’ *Truth and Goodness, say the disciples of Pythagoras, are the two principal attributes of the Divinity.* They also divided the soul of man into two parts, one, the seat of the affections and passions ; the other, of the operations of the understanding. They placed reason and intelligence in the brain, will and the appetites in the heart. Porphyry, in his life of Pythagoras, ascribes to that great man this definition :—In His Body, God resembles Light, and in His Soul, Truth.

“As nothing remains to us of the writings of the founder of the Italian School, we come now to two philosophers whose works contain all that was known to the ancients upon the subject of metaphysics, physics, and morality.

“According to Ocellus the universe was eternal, and there were no marks which disclosed its origin or foretold its destruction. He admitted two principles in nature, the active and the passive. The two worlds of Swedenborg appear in the division which Ocellus makes into two causes. ‘The moon,’ says he, ‘separates uncreated from created things.’ The Swede is more correct in

placing the active cause beyond the limits of matter. Ocellus places the gods in heaven, demons in the middle region, and men upon the earth. Here are very visibly disclosed the foundations on which the spiritual world in the New Church is established.

“All that exists,” says Timæus of Locris, ‘owes its origin to idea or form, to matter and sensation. Idea or form is self-generated, unalterable, of a fixed and homogeneous nature, intelligible, and the model of created beings, who are subject to change.’ Those forms which have appeared so wonderful in the revelations of Swedenborg, are thus reduced to a principle. The theory of degrees is not less clearly expressed. ‘God,’ says Timæus, ‘formed this world of all material substances, and rendered it the ultimate of nature, and of all that exists, because it contains within it all other things.’ The eternity of the world is maintained here, equally as in Ocellus:—‘It is not according to the nature of a Good Being, to incline to the destruction of a good work, therefore the world will remain imperishable and incorruptible.’ Spiritual vision is in like manner attested by him:—‘The spirit alone,’ says he, ‘sees the eternal God, who is the Cause and Former of all things; but we see, with our bodily eyes, the God manifested, that is to say, in the world.’ The brain, which is the seat of the soul in the writings of Swedenborg, fills the same office in those of Timæus.

“In casting a glance upon the other celebrated philosophers whom Greece produced before Socrates, we find the obscure Heraclitus, who regards fire as the origin of all things, and the universal agent. There is in this opinion, which Zeno afterwards revived, some trace of the Oriental belief in a *Spiritual Sun*. Empedocles, who was endowed with enthusiastic reason and practical science, recognized the same principle; he divided the material from the spiritual world. *In the doctrine of the New Church, fire corresponds to love—which, as Heraclitus says, is the origin of all things.*

“At length we come to Plato, through whom Greece acquired so many truths, and who combined all the different sects within his own; this Plato, of whom it has been said that he seemed to have examined and contemplated closely that eternal beauty of which he unceasingly speaks. Barthelémy thus epitomizes the whole philosophy of Plato:—‘There exist two worlds—one visible, the other ideal: the former, formed upon the model of the latter, is that which we inhabit. It is here that everything being subject to birth and



to decay unceasingly changes ; it is here that we see only images and fragmentary portions of the *Esse*. The other, or intellectual world, contains the essences and patterns of all visible objects, and these essences are real existences, since they are unchangeable. Two kings, of whom one is the servant and minister of the other, shed their lustre on these two worlds. From the lofty sky, the sun illumines and perpetuates those objects which he renders visible to our eyes ; from the most elevated region of the intellectual world, the Supreme Good produces and preserves the essences which He renders perceptible to our souls. The sun enlightens us by his light, the Supreme Good by His Truth ; and as our eyes have distinct perceptions when they rest upon any object upon which the light of day falls, so our soul acquires true knowledge when it meditates upon the beings from which Truth is reflected.

“If we wished to present in a picture the doctrines of Swedenborg, could we make use of images more correct, and at the same time more poetical ? Are not these, in short, the two worlds—the spiritual and the natural—of which he speaks to us ? The one, from which all comes into being, to inhabit the other—the former, which contains the essences of things, of which the latter offers us the correspondences ; in short, the one subsisting through the material, the other through the Spiritual Sun. It is this same Spiritual Sun that the philosopher regards as the creative principle. According to St. Justin, Plato represents God as residing in a dazzling brightness. The same analogy is presented between what is taught in the two doctrines concerning the two centres of life. The brilliancy of the one is physical light, that of the other, Truth. He who admires the philosophy of Plato would be inconsistent to reject with contempt that of Swedenborg.

“*Plato, as well as Swedenborg, makes the goodness or love of God the origin of the creation. Both refuse to ascribe evil to God ; each admits equally spirits or demons of human origin.* Amongst other reproaches brought against Plato, which are also applicable to the Swedish philosopher, is that of having taught the fanciful doctrine of Numbers. Not only has Swedenborg made use of this doctrine, which is found in the Bible, as well as in the Pythagorean philosophy, but he also explains it. But the most striking resemblances between the two authors are to be found in the following maxims of Plato :—*All impiety has error for its*

*foundation.* This is one of the axioms of the new theology. *The source of all Goodness and Truth is in God.* This is but saying, in other words, that Love and Wisdom compose the Divine Essence. Laharpe says that Plato is the first philosopher that has recognized the truth that the soul, on its separation from the body, comes into the other world in the same moral state in which death has left it. In another part of this work we have proved the truth of this assertion. Swedenborg says that man is judged according to his ruling love; it is that which saves or condemns him. Plato declares that it is not the study of philosophy which produces virtue, but that it springs from God alone: a truth we have often called to mind in the course of this work. Such a similarity is easily explained without having recourse to the imputation of plagiarism. The truths taught in the writings of Swedenborg were *formerly spread over Asia, whence Plato transplanted them into Greece.* It is as religious as the religion of Swedenborg is philosophical; *both are from the same source.* Clement of Alexandria says, that 'the writings of the Greek philosopher served to prepare the heathen for the reading of the Holy Word.' Infant Christianity has appeared to some to be a plagiarism from Platonic philosophy—it is not surprising that the same reproach should be applied to the maturer Christianity of the New Church.

"St. Augustin says that 'the resemblance between the Sacred Books and those of Plato, arose from the latter having been orally instructed by the Jews.' St. Paul says that 'it proceeded from the natural reason, enlightened from above' (Romans i. 19); that is, in other words, from a private revelation which entered into the Divine economy. Nothing, then, is more probable than the opinion which regards the Platonic philosophy as the copy of that primitive philosophy which history has given us as a revelation. This assertion assumes a greater degree of probability when we examine those passages in the writings of Plato which treat of the other world, as it can only be known by Revelation. In the tenth book of his 'Republic,' Plato relates that an Armenian named Er, having fallen into a trance which lasted twelve days, had seen the other world. According to Er, the souls that went to heaven, as well as those which descended to hell, were assembled in an extensive plain, where they recognized each other, and related their adventures.

Who does not perceive the similarity between this and the intermediate world into which man is introduced immediately after death ?

“The second part of the Phædon contains the popular and mythological ideas which prevailed in the time of Socrates, with regard to the destiny of man after death. From being an arguer in the first part of this dialogue, he becomes, in the second, by his own avowal, a simple narrator. ‘*That pure land,*’ says Plato, in speaking of heaven, ‘*has a continually diversified aspect. Everything is in agreement with it—trees, plants, flowers, and fruits. Even the mountains and rocks have a polish, a transparency, and inconceivable hues. Besides all these beauties, this land is ornamented with gold, silver, and other precious metals ; it is also inhabited by a variety of animals, and by men. They have sacred woods, temples which the gods inhabit, oracles, prophecies, visions.*’

“The manner in which the Vastations described by Swedenborg are accomplished, is exactly similar to that which, according to the author of the Phædon, decides the fate of men after death:—‘When the soul has arrived at the general receptacle for spirits, if it is impure, it wanders about in total separation from others, until, after the lapse of a certain time, necessity draws it into the abode which is suitable to it. But he who has passed his life in purity and temperance, has the gods themselves for his companions and guides, and goes to dwell in the place which is reserved for him.’

“No doctrine, then, can more closely resemble ours than that of Plato. With him, real things are the ideas or types, the visible are transitory phenomena ; the only object worthy the pursuit of man, is that of the intellectual or spiritual world. Could the disciples of the New Jerusalem, if it were necessary to reduce their science as well as their belief to the most simple form, make use of any other expression ?

“Xenophon represents Socrates speaking in a similar manner:—‘It is folly,’ says he, ‘to imagine that there is no Divine Providence which presides over human actions, and that they depend entirely on our own prudence.’ This assertion agrees with all those of Swedenborg which relate to the temporal government of Providence. In the Phædon of the celebrated Jew Mendelsohn, the two Divine faculties which Swedenborg ascribes to the Lord, are those which

Socrates also recognizes :—‘ Goodness and Truth,’ says he, ‘ are the inseparable properties of the most perfect Being, who without them could not exist.’

“ Cicero designated as plebeian all philosophers who were not of the School of Socrates. The chief of the patrician school, if we may thus name the spiritual philosopher, agrees with Swedenborg, not only theoretically, as we have just seen, but also coincides in his relations with regard to the spiritual world. If we refer to Plutarch’s treatise ‘ Of the Familiar Spirit of Socrates,’ we see that the instructor of Plato and Xenophon had spiritual communications of a kind similar to those which we ascribe to Swedenborg. Supernatural communications, which have occasionally caused enthusiasm and folly, have also produced wise men ; and the means by which Socrates arrived at the most profound conviction, and the most extensive knowledge, does not merit contempt and indifference. It is an extraordinary fact, that the history of the human mind offers everywhere a double proof in favour of the writings of Swedenborg. Events and theory prove, in their turns, that he who has disclosed the basis of the new doctrine, has advanced nothing which the history of humanity does not corroborate.

“ We now pass to Aristotle, the preceptor of Alexander, who is said to have possessed a most accurate mind, and to whose name the moderns attach materialist doctrines. ‘ The soul,’ says he, ‘ never grows old ; old age belongs only to the body.’ ‘ Neither matter nor form,’ says Aristotle, ‘ separated from each other, have any positive existence—their union is what constitutes reality.’ Now, form is necessarily an adjunctive principle, which no refinement of reason can lead us to regard as material. In presenting to the thought the form and the subject as separate from each other, Aristotle gives, in short, a spiritual origin to the former.

“ We have advanced, in another part of this work, the theory which requires that the will and the understanding should be brought out into visible acts. Aristotle says, on this subject, ‘ Power expresses only that which is possible ; the act transports it into the region of that which exists.’

“ How has this philosopher, whom we can no longer put in the number of those who doubt the spirituality of the soul, spoken concerning God ? Precisely in the same terms which Swedenborg has employed. ‘ Everything is constituted by God ; nature has not



any self-derived power by which it can subsist without that Supreme guardianship.' *The religious man owes his spiritual birth to the use of his free will* : let us hear what Aristotle says :—' *Man is a free and rational agent ; he is not constrained, but exercises a voluntary activity ; like an intelligent being, he reflects and deliberates before choosing.*' To Aristotle, physiology is indebted for its first regular form ; in it, as in everything that he has written, speculative and practical views were united. *The soul, according to this philosopher, was the active and only principle of life, and the primary form of every physical, organized body.* (Arist. de Anim. 11.) The philosophy of Swedenborg could not make use of better expressions.

"Among the works of Aristotle, there is one of which the original Greek is not preserved ; it was, however, translated from the Arabic into the Latin by Faventinus, under this title :—'Fourteen books by Aristotle concerning the hidden sense of the Divine Wisdom, according to the Egyptians ; a work containing the metaphysics of Aristotle, agreeing for the most part with those of Plato.' This work contains particulars conformable to those which Swedenborg relates of the spiritual world. It is there explained how the heavens were originally formed by means of a Spiritual Sun, and how the natural world has been created and preserved by the influence of that Sun. The author, commenting upon the theory of forms, says that the wise men of *Egypt and Babylon* penetrated into the most hidden wonders of the Spiritual World, and reduced the *knowledge which they obtained, to symbols.* It is to be desired, says he, that they had pointed out to us the way by which they arrived at the knowledge of these mysterious forms. *The reader conversant with the theory of spiritual intercourse, from the teaching of Swedenborg, readily perceives here what Aristotle could not discover.*

"After these great names comes that of Epicurus, whom his disciple, Lucretius, designates with so much pomposity a 'god ;' the chief idea of this philosopher is, that the Divine nature admits a form analogous to the human form. He supposed the soul to be of that form. From the revolting ideas entertained of the philosophy of Epicurus, we should hardly imagine it could be in agreement with religious sentiment ; however, we read in the works of this philosopher :—'Worship is a duty ; it ought to resemble the respect and love which we bear to our parents, without any mixture

of selfish feeling or mercenary hopes.' The disciple of the New Jerusalem feels the agreement of this proposition with the principle which he adopts, and rejoices to find an enlightened religion in writings hitherto regarded as the stronghold of unbelief.

"The last sect that we meet with among the Greeks, is that of the Stoics. We have often referred to the opinion of Zeno, their chief, who regarded the essence of the Divine Being to be *fire*: there are two points of agreement between this philosopher and Swedenborg. 'There is nothing in the understanding,' say the Stoics, 'which has not been in the sensation.' The first of these maxims, attributed to Aristotle, has served as a basis to modern sensualism; but we see, according to the New Doctrine, that it may be strictly true, without injuring spirituality. Corporeal sensation is, in reality, only the medium by which the soul feels and perceives: things revealed are doubtless excepted, but the exception confirms rather than destroys the rule. These things, in short, do not belong to human nature in its ordinary state, they are the privilege of that nature regenerated and modified. As St. Paul says, 'The natural man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God.' Besides the dealings of Providence and those spiritual sensations which revelation alone makes known to us, we find in visions, dreams, and poetic inspiration, a means by which the mind acquires knowledge otherwise than through the senses. But these modes of perception are accidental; they do not constitute the senses common to man, and it is to these that we may strictly apply the axiom of Zeno. In his eyes, immaterial beings were chimeras. 'All that is real, all that can act or suffer, is corporeal,' says he. This view is only opposed to vague spiritualism; the substantial world of Swedenborg is not destroyed by those principles which, with the followers of Zeno, cause the soul to be regarded as purely corporeal and perishable. The Stoics, like Swedenborg, divided Nature into two principles, the active and passive. The god Ether, whom they regarded as the Former of all things, closely approximates to those spiritual atmospheres which the New Jerusalem reveals to us as the means of creation.

"*'Man,' says Zeno (this is his second maxim), 'is an image of the world; a world in miniature dwells in him.'* The simple enunciation of this principle will enable the experienced reader to find an agreement between the Greek and Swedish writer. We have

just passed in review those famous names held in veneration for two thousand years. Here is that Grecian philosophy, the depository of the ancient Oriental traditions, which alone has carried true light into all parts of Europe, where, without it, the darkness of ignorance would have reigned. Here are these men, whom the lover of truth quotes with gratitude, and whose opinions he yet opposes to our destructive theories and versatile systems. All nations have drunk at that fountain. Rome, the mistress of the world; the conquering Arab, who despised and burned the books of the conquered; the indolent inhabitant of Byzantium; those schools which have carried knowledge to the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs, again become the seat of the arts; those which have endeavoured to enlighten European freed from the yoke of Gothic nations, have known no other teachers than the brilliant *élite* of philosophers reared by the genius of Greece, which at the same time produced poets, orators, artists, generals, and the illustrious and great of every kind. Here is the most valuable testimony which antiquity can offer us. Of what weight would be the superficial criticism of men of the present day, compared with that ancient philosophy whose elements we again find in the New Doctrine which replaces it. Whether we raise our thoughts with the disciples of the Academy, to the ideal forms of the typical world, or seek to discover, with the hearers of the Lyceum, the real meaning of things, or with those who frequented the *Portico*, desire to know the nature of man, everywhere we shall find pointed out the principles of that religious philosophy which we are discussing. *It gives, with Plato, forms to the ideal; with Aristotle, determines the laws of the real world; and, with Zeno, agrees in proclaiming the sublime morality of the Stoics.* The Romans had no philosophy, properly so called; Lucretius followed that of Epicurus; Cicero attached himself to the doctrines of the Academy; Seneca, a mere moralist, who often carried the truth to extremes, did not found a school; nevertheless, no one has defended Providence more successfully against the attacks of scepticism.

“We shall not revert to the numerous testimonies which Plutarch brings forward from the writings of Grecian philosophers, concerning the human soul, considered by him as a substantial form, nor shall we quote the proofs that he adduces of the existence of

intermediate intelligences between God and man. All that philosophy will become, in the hands of the Neo-Platonists, a new and compact science.

“Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, have attached themselves to the philosophy of the Portico, and it is principally in the thoughts of this latter, that we find the Stoical philosophy. ‘*There is only,*’ says Marcus Aurelius, ‘*one common substance, though it may be divided into millions of distinct bodies. There is only one soul, though it may be distributed amongst an infinitude of organized forms, which have their own proper limits.*’ ”

Creation by means of atmospheres is here meant. “To be guilty of a lie,” says the imperial philosopher, “is to sin against the Divinity; for all beings descended from universal nature are thus related to each other, and universal nature is with reason named Truth. What is not useful to the hive is not truly useful to the bee. If I have done anything for society, I have done it really for my own advantage. The joy of mankind consists in doing that which accords with the character of man: now, the character of man is to *love his neighbour; to subdue all that which regards the senses; to distinguish the specious from the true; in short, to contemplate universal nature and its works.*”—*Pensées*, p. 246.

“*You will do nothing good in human things, if you forget the relation they have to God; nor anything good in Divine things, if you forget their relation to society.*”—p. 28.

We have here the whole of Swedenborg’s doctrine of charity, if we understand that which he designates as characteristic of man, as being his state after regeneration.”—*Louth*.

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## CHAPTER XLVII.

LET THE TRUE AND THE JUST HAVE THE ASCENDANT, PRACTICALLY CARRIED OUT IN PURITY OF PURPOSE.

I SEE little amiss in the philosophy of the Portico, when viewed abstractly. Marcus Aurelius expressed himself in sentiments well worthy the imperialists of this day. I venture to agree with him, that "universal nature is with reason named Truth." Analogical deduction leads you to the same conclusion, with this distinction—that man no longer is a representation of unperverted nature; therefore he cannot be a type of truth, having perverted the truth. But Marcus Aurelius used the term "universal nature," which is rather an indefinite term, but by which I presume he meant "integral nature," which had for its creator the Divine Architect, with His Infinite wisdom; and may, therefore, with great justice be said to be Truth.

Nothing can be more philosophical than the aphorism which follows, "that what is not useful to the hive is not truly useful to the bee. . . . If I have done anything for society, I have done it really for my own advantage." May not this be said of all individuals? And were this felt, practised, and understood by all, this world would be a Paradise.

Instead of narrowly providing for ourselves individually, were we to be universally providing for the aggregate good, universally instead of individually, heaven would be even on earth; but, alas! I fear, before this can be, a great gulf must be formed: the extravagant, the extortioner, the covetous, and the selfish, and the rich, sumptuous table of useless superfluities, must be reduced, to render sufficiency for the many and the all; and this cannot be until a great gulf be formed and a great separation take place—until evils are seen to exist far beyond those which the clergy of this day will venture to point out—beyond what the law has provided for, but which are the crying evils of the day—felt by many, acknowledged

only by a few. It is, as Marcus Aurelius tells us, "to distinguish the specious from the true." Wherever it be found—in low life or high life—with the lay or with the clergy of whatever denomination—with the citizen or with the statesmen—with the peasant or the lord—fearlessly distinguish the specious from the true; and cast those out from power or rule which are not true, whether they be principles in ourselves or persons in governments—whether they be high or low—whether they be bishop or artisan—whether they be lord or lawyer. Place the good and the true in the best and highest positions of power and State, whatever be their lineage or descent; place the bad and the false not into cruel punishment, but where the gulf is wide enough to separate them and their influence from the good and the true—where none can reach them but those that are beyond contamination—whose purity yearns after them to do them good, to teach them how to *become happier by becoming better*. Let them know that they were hurled from power and place only because they were not good and true, virtuous and just, liberal and honest. Teach them what Marcus Aurelius taught his people: "that you will do nothing good in human things, if you forget the relation they have to God; *nor anything good in Divine things, if you forget their relation to society*." The former part of this instruction is sometimes attempted to be enforced, but the latter part—*i.e.*, "nor will you do good in Divine things, *if you forget their relation to society*"—is the common error of this day; their relation to society is the very apex of the whole of the sentence, as if something similar to this Christ would have said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my little ones, ye have done it unto me."

Any departure from either is a departure from the whole; anything to be good, must bear relation to both God and society; apart from God man is nothing, neither is man anything apart from society. Apart from society man is selfish, becomes a misanthrope, a man-hater, instead of a lover of all—a reverer of the Creator's goodness and greatness. Society requires a conformity to this, rather than a neglect of it, as long as it

squares with Divinity ; not that it shall conform to us in peculiarity of habit : neither the Stoic nor the Cynic philosophy alone is acceptable, because they isolate and insulate man.

He deceives himself the most who approaches the character of the hypocrite the most, because, he is least true to himself who is the least true to others, or to society. Since we are inseparable from a First Cause—God—we cannot deceive God ; since we are inseparable from society, we cannot deceive society without comprehending and compromising ourselves, forming part of society.

To distinguish the specious from the true is the object of the life of all ; to do so is much more the object of every statesman : for them to do so is even their mission. Our Houses of Parliament exist but for that object ; and, wherever selfishness supplants that practice, its influence is fearful. Promote the good and the true in all men—the meritorious in all departments of life. Begin with the heads, and, above all, the officers in government. For to whom, of all in the nation, can a man look for guidance of action, for examples of life, if he cannot look for it in the rulers of a nation—to that House wherein the lawn-sleeves sit high in state and power ? But, alas ! whom have the people to regard to take the lead in examples of virtue ? Many of those who should lead, sit and vote against the just and true—against the meritorious and the worthy ; which they replace with specious preferments, that cry aloud in infamous disasters.

Such a system of modern legislation, regarding only themselves as legislators and their friends, actually forget that they legislate for society—for the community—forget the object of their return to Parliament. Thinking so much about themselves, and their own circle within them, they forget the community without, and the society for which they take office. So long have they taken their seat in the House, that they believe they have but themselves to consider. Promotions by merit and worthiness interfere with their corrupt old practices, practices which they have seen so often that they have grown to be familiar to their faces—they have long ceased to pity—have long

endured—till it has become their first and fond embrace, to the exclusion of all more just and righteous claims, however sacred in the eyes of God, however plain in the eyes of men.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

ARE MEN IN THIS AGE RECEDING FROM TRUTH, OR  
ACCEDING TO IT?

IN all things, truth precedes error—in all things, perverted error precedes truth; now, as legislators forget their relation to God and to society, everything with them bears relation to themselves only; truth to such perverted minds appears erroneous, and virtue a distorted form unnatural to them.

It would appear to our perverted natures that error is necessary for the discovery and development of truth; but the error can only be seen by its results—disastrous consequences only seem to be the medium by which we discover truth. After we have seen its evil effects, we trace the cause, and find out by retrospection where the error was; and all this because we departed from the first principle, which was truth. This is the eating of the forbidden fruit in our day—allowing self to govern in individuals, allowing self to govern in states; hence merit wears the aspect of distortion—all things right appear in the wrong—specious reasoning and eloquent harangues exhaust days and nights, and cannot work out the simplest problem.

I shall leave the State, and look in to history, in order more clearly to examine what truth is, and what the ancients considered it to be; to know whether we in this age are receding from truth, or acceding to it.

I shall take the source of the testimonies from the sacred philosophy of the ancients; first, that which the “Intellectual



Repository" compares with the doctrines of Swedenborg, No. 18, page 248:—

"Error can only follow truth. Error is a distorted idea, and from it we arrive at the real truth. It is difficult not to recognize the truth in that primitive light of the Cabalists and others; the *One Intelligence* whence have emanated, according to their diverse degrees of perfection in a descending scale, all created beings. The profound theory of degrees is there. We find it in the fundamental ideas of the Cabala, that all which exists is only a condensation of the primitive material substance—that there are spirits—that man is a microcosm—that extasis is the means by which a knowledge of supernatural things is communicated. The Cabala, indited by Simeon, who lived some years before the ruin of Jerusalem, contained, under allegorical expressions, some fundamental truths. Basnage thus gives a summary of them:—'The Cabalists believed in three sorts of worlds, represented under the figures of three men—namely, the terrestrial man, the celestial, and the archetype.' It is easy to see here the theory of degrees and the idea of God-Man giving His form to all which proceeds from Him. The Cabalist believed further, that each of these three men was endowed with all the parts of the human body, because they imagined that these parts were so many symbols suitable for representing the operations of the Divinity. This method of depicting the operations of the Divinity by human figures, is also that of the Egyptians, 'who,' says Basnage, 'represented Jupiter, or the Sun, and the effects which he produced by the figure of a man.'

"If any one is surprised that we should quote here the facts of the Cabala as proofs, we answer, that the Cabala, created by extatics, offers, even in its extravagances, irrefutable testimony to the spiritual communications in which it has originated. Reduced to fundamental principles, it is in perfect accordance with that which enlightened reason declares in the Revelations of the New Jerusalem. These are the principles which we invoke—they can brave the severity of criticism. They prove that truth, whatever may be its origin, has the same character among all men. If the absurd details of the Cabalistic mythology, at once so complicated and so ridiculous, are brought forward to weaken the value of these points of resemblance, we answer that there is no truth so simple in its

origin which does not equally become a confused error in the hands of blind enthusiasts who are carried away by it. It is, then, possible that the Cabala may have had the fate of the primary truths which have served for a basis to all philosophers; it is possible that the love of the marvellous may, in the course of time, have brought it into ridicule. In that case, the science which accords with the general principles of this theology, is not responsible for the absurdities which have mingled with it.

“If, on the contrary, the details added to the primitive Cabala have been the result of individual revelations, necessarily as variable as the character and opinions of each of those who have received them, there is nothing to be concluded thence against the enlightened theory, which, whilst it adopts the primitive revelation, is not, on that account, obliged to subscribe to private revelations. The extravagance of these latter is not an objection of which the disciples of the New Jerusalem need be afraid. So far from it, their theory serves to develop fundamental truths, and, at the same time, rejects superadded extravagances, whilst it reveals their suspected origin.

“Christianity, at its first establishment, regarded as religious truths those which rested on ancient revelation, and consequently a perfect accordance is seen between the writings of the primitive fathers of the church and those of the Platonic philosophers, whose authority we have brought forward in support of our argument. There lived at Rome, during the early ages of Christianity, under the pontificate of St. Clement, Hermas, the author of the book entitled ‘The Shepherd,’ which was regarded by some of the ancient fathers as a canonical book. It is thought to be this author whom St. Paul mentions among the illustrious Romans. (Rom. xvi. 14.) His book contains a certain number of visions, of which the theory of the New Jerusalem gives us the sense. In the first of the visions of Hermas, that writer saw Heaven opened before him. Human beings appeared to him in their bodily form: one of them announced to him the end of the world, in the Apocalyptic style of St. John. That there may have been here something of imagination, we agree; but a mind wrought upon by the reading of ascetic books, and who sees in ecstasie representation what it has read before, may be in error, but is not on that account a deceiver. The impression received may be doubtful: it is simply the moral

truth which may be changed by an intercourse, more or less pure, with intermediate spirits. In this vision, Hermas, like Swedenborg, sees the pure spirits—interpreters of the Divine will disappear from his sight towards the east. The second vision contains nothing striking. In the third, the church appeared to him under the form of a building. The stones here represent the truths of faith; the water on which it was constructed, truth in general. The fourth vision contains the recital of an apparition, in which, as with St. John, the events in the other world are figured by material forms.

“In a part of the same book entitled ‘Precepts,’ the author gives a summary of the principal rules of Christian morality. In the sixth precept, he declares that each man has two angels—one good and the other evil. The first inclines us to virtue, the last to vice. Our dispositions reveal to us which is with us. In conclusion, the visions of Hermas were in accordance with the austerity of his life; he joined fasting and prayer to seclusion. Bergier says that the book of Hermas is exempt from errors, and that it is a monument of the sanctity of the manners of the primitive church.

There were among the admirers of early Christianity men imbued with the philosophical ideas then prevalent. Some heathen philosophers did not subscribe to the truths of Christianity, but sought to combat them in order to strengthen the former in their conviction, as well as to repel the attacks of the latter. The fathers of the church saw themselves obliged to speak in the language of philosophy. The first Christian teachers represent God in space as a corporeal being; succeeding ones adopted the idea of an infinite extension, which led to a belief in absolute immateriality. All admit a general and particular Providence, and the government of the world through the ministry of angels. According to them, evil proceeds partly from the human will, and partly from the influence of spirits. Being produced contrary to the order of God, it is only permitted. These spirits are spiritual beings, provided with a subtile body.

“St. Justin, known by the enlightened tolerance of his opinions, has an additional point of conformity with Swedenborg—that of recognizing in God, form and substance. ‘Every substance,’ says he, ‘which cannot be submitted to another on account of its imponderability, has yet a body which constitutes its essence. If we call God *incorporeal*, it is not because He is so, but *because we are*

*accustomed to appropriate certain names to certain things, to designate, as reverentially as possible, the attributes of the Divinity. Thus, because the Essence of Divinity cannot be perceived and is not sensible to us, we call it incorporeal.'*

"We have too often quoted Origen and Tertullian to return to them ; but we will dwell for a short time upon one of the finest geniuses of antiquity—that is, St. Augustin. 'There is,' says this great man, 'an interior sense, which sees, by a sort of incorporeal light, the objects which the external senses cannot seize.' Here is an avowal of spiritual communications. 'Truth,' says he, 'is the cause of intelligence.' This is to declare, in a lucid maxim, the relations that we have recognized between God and man. Order is good, perfection ; evil is disorder. It is thus that we have regarded the admirable laws of Divine Providence. We shall continue to quote this father without pointing out the resemblances, which the reader can do for himself. 'We may easily attribute to the true God all that heathen theology ascribes to the world and its parts.' 'The difference between good and evil angels does not arise from their nature, but from their will.' 'The true cause of the happiness of good angels is, that they attach themselves to Him who is the Supreme Being ; and the cause of the misery of evil angels is, that they have swerved from their allegiance to that Sovereign Being, to incline towards themselves, who have less of being. To fall away from Him who possesses a Sovereign Being in order to incline towards that which has less of being, is to begin to have an evil will.' The same author in his 'Confessions,' speaks of that light which has nothing in common with visible light.

"Contemporary with the fathers of the Church, we find the first heretics. One great truth results from examining the errors of Socinus, Arius, and others : it is, that none of their heresies can exist after the reading of Swedenborg. That compass, destined now to conduct the world, would have preserved it then by guiding it. These sects have arisen, for the most part, from the fact that religion, which ought never to have recognized any but spiritual authority, had entered into the circle of temporal things. Authority multiplies sects by forbidding to think. The man who would be faithful to an opinion dictated by his conscience, rejects that opinion as soon as it becomes a public duty to which he is obliged to conform his actions. We impose voluntarily upon ourselves a moral



and spiritual law, but we receive it from others with repugnance, because it enslaves us by taking away the merit of choice. 'To constrain ourselves,' in short, says Swedenborg, 'is an act of liberty, but to be constrained is not so.' The human mind, obeying that indomitable desire for liberty which constitutes its essence, resists, like the bow under the hand which bends it ; and we almost always see a heresy which seemed to be crushed, reappear at some future time. As a general rule, heresy, in its commencement, may be considered as a revolt of free-will. Obstinacy, passion, and error, uniting with it, lead it on to extravagance.

There were among the leaders of heresies in the first ages of the Church, authors whose only crime had been to recede from the dogmas of a church, which being sometimes at its beginning in the right, began to imagine itself infallible, and consequently prescribed absolute obedience. The writings of these leaders of sects have not, in the eyes of the impartial reader, less merit than those of the philosophical writers out of the pale of Christianity. The agreement which they have with the opinions of the unfolders of the New Doctrine becomes valuable in the search for universal testimony. If Swedenborg had no analogy but with such authors, we might, perhaps, read him with distrust ; but he is so fully supported by superior authorities, that we cannot, without feeling interested, discover the relations which he preserves with some Christians of the Ancient Church, who, if they are not always regarded as orthodox, have nevertheless frequently very enlightened minds.

"From the commencement of Christianity we find the Gnostics, a sort of Neo-Platonists whose doctrines have given way to the inevitable abuses attached to all merely human opinions. Associating the Platonic Creations with Christianity, the authors of the Gnosis made religion a metaphysical theology, similar in many points to that of the New Church. Forms were, in their eyes, representations of spiritual nature. The body was the external form of the spirit. The Ophites gave to the Supreme Being the name of *Source of Light* and *Primitive Man*. (Ir., book i., ch. 34.) The same sects, according to Celsus, said that some men were transformed into lions, bears, eagles, bulls, dogs ; Origen and the moderns rail at these metamorphoses, which are evidently forms in the other world perceived by extasis. The Neo-Platonism of the

Gnosis is, in brief, like that of Alexandria, Rome, and Athens, only the introduction into positive worship of the cosmological speculations in the East. Far from being a copy, it sprung from the irrepressible desire to pass beyond the limits of the sensible world. The ancient mysticism of Asia had produced only a mythology; the Gnosis Christianized, so to speak, philosophy. Here are some of its fundamental points :—

- “ 1. Emanation from the bosom of God.
  - “ 2. Progressive degeneration in these emanations.
  - “ 3. Redemption, and return towards the Creator.
  - “ 4. Re-establishment of the Divine harmony.
  - “ 5. Return to unity, by a happy life in the bosom of God.
- (‘ History of the Gnostics,’ vol. I., Introduction.)

“ The Gnosis was thus the theory of the operations of the Author of all things in the region of the ideal universe, and the relation of that universe with the terrestrial world. *In its psychology, it said that the soul was a ray of that luminous essence which constitutes the Divinity; in its morality it prescribed to man to furnish to the body what was necessary to it, to take away from it what was superfluous, and to unite it to God, from whom it has emanated.*

“ In the particular opinions of the Gnostics there are many points of uniformity with the doctrines of Swedenborg. In the first century of the Christian era we find the Cerinthians, whose ideas of a future life have served as a model for the Paradise believed in amongst the Mohammedans. Cerinthus, a contemporary of St. John, maintained that they ate, drank, and enjoyed the happiness of marriage in Paradise. St. Irenæus says that St. John composed his Gospel to refute the opinions of Cerinthus in regard to the Word, which he looked upon as a Divine creation, adjoined to the mortal body of Jesus Christ, the Son of Joseph and Mary; but the apostle nowhere refutes his ideas of sensual happiness, which are the most important parts of the Cerinthian doctrine. Mosheim (Critical History, sect. 1) cannot persuade himself that a man so learned as Cerinthus should have such ideas of future happiness. But if modern teaching cannot habituate itself to opinions so contrary to our own, she must recognize in them either traditions collected with care, or ideas acquired by other means than those which our senses make known to us. There is a danger to be avoided in the judgment which we maintain in regard to the

Gnostics. Some of these men were evidently endowed with that faculty of perception belonging exclusively to ecstasies; some of them have seen with confusion, others with distinctness, the immaterial world taught by Jesus Christ. The greater part of the fathers, unused to this mode of receiving and transmitting the Divine truths that they found in the letter of the Holy Word, and in its authorized interpretation, have only been able to see absurd as well as injurious heresies in the testimonies of the Gnostics. The decision which they have arrived at, in regard to these sectaries, has been adopted very generally until the time when Mosheim, Beausobre, and the recent historian of the Gnosis, M. Mutter, have concluded that that people, so superior as the Gnostics were for the most part, could not give way to absurd notions, as the accusation brought against them by the fathers, who were both judges and accusers on this occasion, would infer. In every hypothesis, the doctrine of spiritual communications taught by Swedenborg, is the only one which explains the ideas of these men, who have been so long regarded as the prey of a deluded imagination. In technical terms, the Gnostics explained the attributes of God, His perfections, and the manner in which He created the world. Valentine said that our soul was, as it were, saturated with spirits, which are joined to it; but that there is a Good Being, manifested by the Sun, and that it is through the latter that the heart is purified, and banishes every evil spirit. The Valentinians say that man was formed after the model of another man. "The celestial Adam," say they, "is a macrocosm, and the first of all beings; while the terrestrial Adam is a microcosm, and the first of all men who have dwelt upon the earth." (Basnage, *History of the Jews*, book iii., ch. 28.) Is not this the Divine Man, the model of the world and of every created being? The sect of the Manicheans and that of the Gnostics are the two principal ones amongst Pagan Christians; that is to say, those who introduced strange opinions into Christianity. It is to these two sources that we may trace those different sects which, under so many names, have been perpetuated to the Middle Ages. Gnosticism had come from Egypt; Manicheism from Persia. This latter constituted itself a separate sect from the church; the other remained in the general communion, of which it was, in a certain way, the theosophy. Manicheism especially is remarkable, from the system of emanations

which it held sacred, and by the Indian influence which was perceptible in it. Whatever sect we consider, we almost invariably find some portion of truth. The doctrine of the last church teaches us what is wanting to render this truth absolute. We see an effort among them to free themselves from error, but a want of knowledge to attain the end. Thus the Montanists reduced into a system Apocalyptic visions and trances; but, without a guide in these spiritual communications, they fell into error, like the Somnambulists of our day. Abhorring symbols, they became Iconolasts, and dealt a mortal blow to the arts. Their government was *extasis*, and the gift of prophecy appeared to them the only real distinction among men.

“Some sects are produced by the unsatisfactory nature of the explanation generally given of the Christian dogmas. It was felt that reason might grasp the truths of faith, destined to be the food of the understanding, and they wandered in every path to arrive at this end. Thus the Docetians and the Marcionites, recognizing a truth concealed within the letter in the appearances of Jesus Christ after His death, and refusing to see in them miracles only designed to astonish men, gave to the Saviour a sort of phenomenal body, by means of which he was present to the corporeal sight, without being material. We see here an unsuccessful attempt to arrive at the philosophical notion which abstracts time and space from the phenomena of extasis. In the same manner, the Nestorians, seeing in Jesus Christ the God who had assumed the humanity in the womb of a woman, said that it alone was born of a woman, but not the Divinity. This doctrine, so conformable to reason, was condemned. In admitting the means by which the Redeemer rendered His humanity Divine, they conceived how, being born of Mary, He no longer retained anything from her. Then Nestorianism acquired a more real basis.

Whilst the Ebionites considered Christ as a man animated by the Divine Mind, and the Alogians banished from religion the inspirations which they regarded as illusions, Praxeas, wishing to conciliate these ideas with those of the Cerinthians, to which he leaned, united the Trinity in one God. The Divine Trinity, which in the last church is a personification, was for Praxeas a real and absolute unity. The founder of this sect has not been able to escape the objection made to all Patri-passians—that is, to those who attri-



bute to the Son the sufferings of the Father. Where, say they, was the celestial God when the terrestrial God expired? The same objection is opposed to the Gnostic Simon, surnamed the Magician, who imagined that the manifestations of the Supreme Being as Father or Jehovah, as Son or Christ, and as Holy Spirit, were only so many modes of His existence. The New Jerusalem, in distinguishing in the Divine Trinity between the *Esse* and the *Existere*, resolves this difficulty, and the reproach of Patripassianism is no longer applicable to it. The Sabellians and the Noetians, endeavouring to avoid what was absurd in the doctrine of Praxeas, and feeling, nevertheless, that the Trinity must reveal itself to man, formed another class of Monotheists, in which they recognized Jesus as a man endowed with a Divine soul, but not begotten of an Eternal Father. Knowing how the *Logos*, the Word, or the *Existere* co-eternal with the *Esse*, is begotten by it, such a doctrine is stripped of its inconsistencies. We feel that there is a priority between the *Esse* and the *Existere*, which is on the side of the *Esse*; and although the action of the two appears simultaneous, in consequence of the eternal marriage of Good and Truth, thought, nevertheless, can conceive that the *Esse* begets the *Existere*. We can understand, taking thought and speech as an example in man, that certainly we do not separate one from the other; nevertheless, reflection shows us that the former produces the latter.

"Sabellius, also, discovered in the Scriptures a sense different from the letter. The Fathers of the Alexandrian school appear to share with Sabellius the idealism which he had borrowed from that school. Albafaragus relates that this opinion of Sabellius is quite conformable with that of Empedocles in regard to the Divine Attributes, and that he is followed by a part of the learned amongst the Mahometans. St. Basil says that it is pure Judaism.

"Arius has also endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to render the doctrine of the Trinity conformable to reason. His doctrine, contrary to that of Sabellius, admitted three distinct Divine persons, similar in nature, but not in essence. The Christ of Arius, created before the world, proceeding from nothing, is a sort of subaltern Divinity. Created and begotten, he is God, and not the *Esse*. To believe in a creature who inhabits a human body without being either God or man, is repugnant both to reason and faith.

"Let us compare the coherent system of doctrine of the New

Church with these powerless attempts of reason and aberrations of mind, and we shall there see the truth which these sects sought after, but which they could not attain without other knowledge than they possessed. These Pagan-Christians, of Oriental origin, have, with Swedenborg, the advantage of introducing into Christianity the theory of emanations, so justly appreciated by thinkers of all ages ; nevertheless, the Swedish author avoids the reproach of Pantheism, which these reformers incurred, for his Pantheism would be that of the spirit ; he avoids the absurdities of the foolish dogma of Manes, by assigning greater scope to the liberty of man. The origin of evil with him is simply a removal from God ; it does *not* proceed from an evil principle equal to God and co-eternal with Him. In like manner, the theory of Pelagus as to grace, which has so greatly engrossed the Fathers, especially St. Augustin, is presented by Swedenborg under the most rational form. He declares everywhere to Protestants that man is free, and, at the same time, to man endowed with this faculty, that he can do nothing of himself. The manner in which the Romish teachers have modified the doctrine of St. Augustin, by adopting semi-Pelagianism, is an anticipated homage rendered to the manner in which Swedenborg has regarded this doctrine.

“ Whilst these sects occupied the speculative minds who had remained attached to Christianity at this epoch, those who had left it adopted at the same time a spiritualism which we cannot consider as merely dogmatic. The philosophy of Julian, and that of Apollonius of Thianus, which preceded it by two centuries, belong to that school of magic which we find among the Hebrews, the Platonic philosophers of Alexandria, and the Orientals. Julian is the author of a hymn addressed to the Spiritual Sun. We discover in the writings of that Emperor traces of true philosophy, and perhaps it is here that we may seek the solution of the character of that prince, to excuse what may be called his errors, without seeking, at the same time, to palliate his evils, for the justification of the author does not carry with it that of the prince. Philosophers have been very severe in regard to him, considering him as the dupe of an ardent imagination ; this is the decision which these same men would give in regard to Swedenborg. The contempt of historians for Julian has arisen from their not understanding his philosophy. He was an apostate in the eyes of the Christians of

his time ; the same designation would be given by Christians of our to all those who forsake their literal interpretations and adopt those of the New Jerusalem. In the age in which he lived they would have accused him of heresy, and in ours of superstition. They reproached him for his belief in genii, as if the early writers of antiquity did not believe the same. The knowledge of Julian's philosophy may explain his belief. Wishing to trace his ideas to the foundation even of paganism, he thus explains himself in his discourse to Sallust :—‘The Being subsisting by himself, the Being infinitely good, is the first Sun ; the second Sun is the spiritual ; and the third the visible world. The first produces all souls from his own substance, the second distributes the benefits of his understanding, the third is that luminous star, the principle and preserver of all that exists.’ The theory concerning degrees in the New Jerusalem is quite in agreement with that explanation. In his celebrated discourse against the Galileans, Julian says that ‘the sun, moon, stars, and heavens, are representations of beings that we cannot perceive. When we look at the sun (says he) we look at the image of an intelligible thing which we cannot discover.’ In the same work the Imperial Philosopher combats Divine Revelation by an immaterial means of arriving at the truth—*Divination*.

“In the West, the only man whom it remains to us to quote, who lived at the time of the irruption of the barbarians, is the celebrated Boëtius, author of the beautiful work entitled ‘Consolation.’ The manner in which he treats of the moral liberty of man, is an unequivocal testimony in favour of the true theory of Free-will. It is only the man, says he, who remains in the natural order which he has received from God, that exists, so to speak ; all who remove themselves from Him, lose the existence of which they had the principle within them. This is what constitutes the mysterious nature of man according to the last church. The wicked, adds Boëtius, ought not only not to be esteemed powerful, but even as having no existence, since those who remove themselves from the common end of all creatures, cease to be of their number. The author of the work on ‘Heaven and Hell’ speaks in the same manner on the impotence of evil spirits. The latter often develops this declaration of the Scriptures, that the Law of God gives liberty, and that vice is slavery. We read thus in the Romish

writer,—‘The spirit of man is never so free as when it is occupied in contemplating the greatness of the Highest of Beings, but if it is so unhappy as to plunge itself into all sorts of vices, it falls into the basest of servitudes.’ All these confirmations of different points of the doctrines of the New Jerusalem, by so many authors, deservedly respected and appreciated, are truly remarkable, especially when we reflect that they are not the results of close application to study, nor the compilations of erudition, but simply direct introvisions into the spiritual world,—unvarnished truths which are offered for the approbation of our understanding and affections.”

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## CHAPTER XLIX.

THE GOOD AND THE PURE, THE GENEROUS AND THE WISE,  
ARE TO BE FOUND BOTH IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES.  
AT ALL TIMES THE SPIRIT OF FIRST PRINCIPLES WENT  
FORTH TO MAKE AND PERFECT THE EARTH.

THAT elementary influences operate upon all things of creation, is corroborated by all the illustrious and virtuous philosophers and theologians among the ancient and modern writers. Amongst the most ancient, that of which we have any sacred record, is the elementary influence called the Tree of Life; and amongst the most modern will be found in the German philosophies, the same elementary spirit under the denomination of Transcendentalism. After all, it is but the variations of the mind dressing in the imagination different potentialities and attributes of Divinity, into acceptable and intelligible forms of expression.

The remarkable modes of expression will be seen to agree in their corresponding language, wherever the source is the subject under consideration; proving the language of correspondence



to have a deeper meaning and origin than that of mere human invention. We have the Tree of Life guarded by cherubim in the early days, at the east of the garden of Eden. We have the east again alluded to by Hermas, whom St. Paul mentions amongst the illustrious Romans. In Hermas's vision he saw the pure spirits, interpreters of the Divine will, disappear in the east. Swedenborg says, the east signifies a state of love in the Lord and in man.—Jehovah himself as to love, A.C. 1451. Love in a clear perception, "Heaven and Hell," 150. The land of the east, in Genesis xxv. 6, signifies the good of faith.—*Arcana Cœlestia*, 3249. Here is an illustration of the usefulness of the science of correspondences; it is the key to Scripture and to the earlier modes of expression now become obsolete. The Tree of Life, Rev. ii. 7, is the essential celestial love, and, in a supreme sense, the Lord himself, because from him is all the celestial principle—that is, all love and charity. The sacred word mentions a guard at the east of the garden of Eden. Hermas saw in a vision the pure spirits disappear in the east. Swedenborg says, the east signifies the Lord. Now since the Lord is purity itself—is the essential celestial—is love and charity itself, the Sacred Word, Hermas, St. Paul, and Swedenborg all accord, harmoniously agreeing even in minutiae. Starting from the earliest ages, commonly computed at six thousand years ago (which, for all we know, may be sixty thousand or six hundred thousand years), we have at all events the most ancient. The ancient and the modern chronological periods, wherein an uniformity of sentiment existed, and an agreement of meaning have been expressed on the the source of the pure and the good, which is the elementary—the essential and celestial influence that operated upon us then, and which influences us now, and ever will.

We have this tree guarded by cherubim in this our day, as well as in the days of Adam; we have the essential, celestial—the pure, and the good, and the generous, ever guarded at the east of the gate—*i.e.*, wherever the source of the pure and the good is, there the evil is shut out,—guarded against, because evil and good together would be profanation. The same idea

is expressed in the Christian vernacular : " No man can serve two masters : for either he will hate the one, and love the other ; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." While man is in the love of self, he must be guarded against ; because every selfish act inflicts injury upon our neighbour. Neither can the selfish man enjoy the delights of the generous and the unselfish. How necessary is it, therefore, to guard against the men who regulate the laws of the nation, who are too often selfish. The selfish statesman is the greatest bane society can have ; and yet, alas ! how many selfish legislators have we in this our day. Oh ye nations of mammon,—of selfishness,—invoke the guard of cherubim and seraphim, to rise up in your hearts and souls, and give light unto your minds, that you may be illustrated into good works of unselfishness. Oh, ye seraphim ! rise up into our statesmen, into ministers ; rise up into the light of day, unto our churches, that they be no longer the churches of selfishness, upholding corruption because great names and titles practise them : fearing to admonish the unjust, whether the unjust be a lord, a duke, or an earl ; fearing to cry aloud for virtue, wherever virtue is wanting in the bishop or the tithe owners. Rise up, oh, seraphim ! holy influences of love, and illustrate the churches wherein your dwellings are,—wherein your good, your unselfishness should reign, that you may be seen more in the bishops, by the daily practice of what is unselfish. Be more in the churches, that ye may thence be seen more in the legislators, in justice, and in civil law ; lest the people point at them with the finger of scorn, and say, Lo, behold ! they have grown rich and selfish too. Like Eve, they are tasting the fruit that contaminates. The guard of cherubim stands, yea, in our day, at the east of the garden of Eden. Our rulers and our people are mammon eaters, tasting daily, forbidden, polluted food, got by dishonest gain, dishonest preferment, selfish ends. But see, God's truths, like cherubim in this day, guarding us, saying, Beware, lest ye eat also of the tree of life ! Polluted nature, touch not the unpolluted, the pure, the good, the generous, the unselfish, lest profanation live for ever. Man-

kind shall not lose the means of redemption, by mixing good and evil, heaven and hell.

“All that culture of the generous is implied by shunning evils ; it implies something more—namely, an attention to concupiscences or lusts which are active in the mind, and a *restraining of them* ; for these are *the origin of all the evils which exist in man’s life*, and the shunning of evils consists in suppressing these, as well as the withholding the hand from the commission of actual sin.

“Man may cease from the actual commission of sin, and desist from the practice of wickedness, externally considered, without ever shunning a single evil ; yea, he may, during his externally shunning of evils, be actually nurturing them in his mind.”\*

Again :—

“What idea can we form of shunning evils, but that of doing good in a certain degree ? To shun evil does not imply that a man should assume a passive condition, but an active one ; for shunning is acting, and to shun evil is to act against it. It does not mean that a man is to hang down his hands and altogether cease from action ; but that he must act—he must do something—he must shun evil. Man cannot be wholly passive ; he can no more cease to be active than he can cease to exist ; his existence is activity. But his activity does not mean simply the action of the body, any more than the shunning of evil means the ceasing of bodily action ; but it *means the action of the mind, which is will and thought* ; these constitute man’s life, and he cannot cease to will and to think, any more than he can cease to exist, for these constitute his existence. Evil is the *perverse action of the mind* : if a man consents to it, it becomes voluntary ; it is then his evil, and he is responsible for it. When evil descends into the body it becomes sin, and in its complex constitutes all wickedness.

“It appears to man that he can shun evils without doing good ; but this is a fallacy, which may be seen from the fact that man is an active subject, and that his existence consists of activity and changes. Hence, as man cannot exist in a state of passivity, his very attempt to shun evil must imply the doing of good.

“To shun is to strive against ; and if man shuns evil from a

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\* “Intellectual Repository,” No. LXV. p. 205.

pure motive, he at the same time that he ceases from the commission of evil, commences doing good.

"He is an active being, and his exercise of free will does not consist in choosing whether he will be active or not, but in choosing in what way he will act—for act he must. But his choice consists in this, whether he will act in this way or that—whether he will do evil or good. The shunning of evil is the commencement of doing good."\*

The self-sufficient have, therefore, a great work of self-investigation to enter upon, whether they be kings, statesmen, or church upholders. Nevertheless, the restraint put upon the act, even if the mind wills the contrary, is better in its results upon a community, than the wilful committal of sin, the consequences of which are injurious to society. Also, a man that exercises constraint upon his actions is already on the road to a better and higher motive of restraint. He is capable of becoming subjugated to a Divine will, or to have a self-power, as in that of an autocrat, wherein the Divine will is absolute, is its own reason,—is both the producer and the ground of all his acts, moving not by the external impulse or inclination of objects, but determining itself by an absolute self-power, or autoeracy.

In fact, asceticism is an approach to this condition; but I am constrained to doubt if ever there was an ascetic. Christianity is a compound of Asectic, Stoic, and Pythagorean philosophies. Each philosophy consisted but of human attempts at perfection, and, though excellent in precept, ended but in external observances, rituals, and forms, after their propounders ceased to exist, rather than in the elasticity, watching, retiring self-denying exercises of virtue which these philosophies taught.

For another sentiment seems to pervade the best of mankind, without associating doctrinal and sacerdotal proscriptions with it, that is, that "a life of misery is not necessary as the price of eternal happiness."\*

\* "Intellectual Repository," p. 206, 207.

+ Gibbon's History, chap. xxxvii.



If Zimmerman's interpretation of asceticism be correct, it may be applied to every system which teaches man not to govern his wants by subordinating them to reason and the law of duty, but *to stifle them entirely*, or at least to resist them as much as he can; and these are not only the wants of the body, but still more those of the heart.

It appears to be but the remains of paganism, when carried to extremes, seeking to appease the wrath of the gods by voluntary suffering.

Whether it be better, then, to stifle feelings entirely, or to subdue them to a proper use regulated by reason, intelligence, and prudence, so as not to injure society nor yourself, becomes the question not yet settled even among the various denominations of total abstainers and non-abstainers.

Hence the self-sufficient total abstainer will consider himself good enough, while the self-sufficient non-abstainer will consider himself the same. Purity, therefore, is a conditional term in its relation to man. First Principles teach not only the act of purity, but *the motive of it*; and whether it be in relation to individual or to governing powers, First Principles must become the regulating medium before the greater happiness can be extended to the greater number. Let every honest statesman say, if the suffrage would have been withheld from the industrious and intelligent, as it now is, were this principle the regulating medium of legislation?

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## CHAPTER L.

### PURITY IS CONSERVATISM.

I KNOW it will be said that the stability of the State is the important desideratum; and I fully admit the fact: for any change in our dynasty would be fatal to Great Britain. But

who will deny that the people of England are as loyal and patriotic as are the rulers of the nation. Are not our armies and navy furnished from the people? Do they not fight for the nation as well as the higher orders? Do they not risk their lives and spend their blood as willingly and as freely as the noble or the affluent? Who then will persist that they are not as conservative in their intentions and in their practice as the wealthy? Concede to them their just rights, loyalty and patriotism will only be increased tenfold; stability and conservation would then proceed uniformly and happily to all the sons of Great Britain.

Will any presume to say that the people are not as honest as the aristocrat to the governing necessities? Yes, they are more honest, while they profit not by the just extension of their deserving immunities.

Let the fact now be boldly spoken. It is not the industrious people who are to be feared, than whom none are to be found more exemplary among the rich, but the rogues and pickpockets among the lower orders; not only them, but the rogues in useless offices of State, sinecures, toadies to venal authorities, whether for good or for evil—mere empty tools to empty power—machines that stereotype corruption and call it conservatism. These are the men that are to be feared, and rendered powerless to do harm as you would take the poison from the serpent.

It has always been the effort of such State-licking people, to identify the industrious with the pickpockets and the mob, and the *Times* paper has toadied to the same venal practice; but well is it known that they have not to do with them in any way, their interest lying in opposition to them as it does to the tools of office that wink at State jobbing. No honest man need fear the industrious, the rogues only seem to try to scoff at them because they are not convenient for them; only as blind workers in the dark are they intended to have an existence. This darkness no longer continues, but intelligence and activity of mind is throwing off the spell of unjust oppression, wishing to conserve the State and uphold it, but not the

abuses of it that have so long had durance, because these abuses amid the intelligence of this day endanger the State, and will as certainly undermine it as corruption has ever undermined Greece and Rome, China and Syria.

Who would conserve, then, must purge and make clean, for decomposition and dirt are the ready corrupting means that destroy without building up again; until a new organization take place, which relatively is as low in creative quality as the filth from which it had birth, for all parasites, vermin, and reptiles proceed from dirt, and some from the filth of neglect.

Preservation and conservation, then, are cleanliness and purity; the antitheses of decay, the very antiseptics themselves. The analogy, thus mentally and morally considered, is good. Who would conserve *himself must be clean in intention*, in will, motive, and act. Preservation is upholding the good, apart and away from corrupting influences. Integrity in purpose and practice is conservation—justice is conservation—purity is conservation; but dishonesty, injustice, impurity, are corrupting influences, rendering all things with which they come in contact unpreserved, unprotected, and rotten.

First of all, then, before we decide what denomination of politicians we are, let us ask ourselves, are we pure, chaste, and good enough, in our every motive and intention, politically to consider ourselves true liberal Conservatives? Are those who have boastfully assumed the name in the exercise of these virtues, this justice, honesty, and purity? If so, let them continue to call themselves liberal Conservatives; but if not, be he a Lord Derby, or a Lord Palmerston, let him not call himself by that which every act of his life proves him not to be.

All men should strive to become true Conservatives; conservatism does not exclude liberality any more than a conserve jelly excludes sugar, or wine or beer excludes saccharine; it is an essential element, that is the very constituent of conservation, without which there is no quality. That hopeful statesman of Great Britain, Lord Stanley, I indulge in the belief that he is

the personification of the Liberal and Conservative compound ; and can become more so as he mingles in his noble character the former with the latter. It is that happy blending of the two great essentials of quality that constitutes the statesman.

Government can never be based upon *First Principles* until this happy blending takes place : the liberal must be a component of the preserver ; the preserver a component of the liberal.

The factional conflicts must cease to exist upon the base of liberality, for all must be liberal that shall be in the State ; the conflicts shall only take place upon the practicability of carrying out the liberal base.

Let no man call himself liberal that is not so in practice ; take care of the mere profession, for that is cheap stuff any man may carry upon his surface.

But for the fact of the present conservating, old, and continued association with the corruptions of the early days, mistaken principles of feudal Governments, I should say the Conservatives not professing the liberal assumption, but repudiating it, would induce a semblance of candour and honesty superior to the professors of it, but unfortunately they cannot fall back upon their integrity to sustain and retain them in their character as statesmen ; on the contrary, too often they fall back upon antiquated corruption, to which they have become so familiarized, that their various habits of intimidation, bribery, authority unjustly exercised, coercion, domination by mere wealth — appropriations of the highest offices of State to themselves and theirs — shutting out naked merit from any chance of possessing office, and fighting for mere place, wasting the country's time and money, are crimes to which they have become so familiar, that they never can fall back upon the integrity of their motive and purpose in recommending themselves to offices of State, titles, and State possessions.

Nor can the Whigs, whose association with corruptions, if not quite so antiquated, is not the less venal. Such fulsome distinctions now as Whig and Tory are absurdities not compatible



with the progress of the intelligence of this day, for they have merged into the same kind of corrupt practices, rendering themselves identical in everything but name—mere profession only.

It might by some be thought that a liberal despotism would be a practical form of rule for the present stage of human condition. France seems to have put the latter in practice, but, like our Whigs of England, have merely professed the former. If such a form of rule were expedient for France, be careful how it be attempted in England. Despotism is mixed up with every vice on the face of the earth, not only in rulers but in individuals; wherever it exist it is unsubdued desires, passions of malignity; the liberality that would be connected with it is like throwing the tub to the whale,—would be, at its highest point of beneficence only patronisingly dealt out, to be at any time despotically redeemed.

Liberal despotism is presumption, because it presumes that the despot possesses the greatest wisdom and goodness, neither of which qualities can he possess if he be a despot.

I should say there can be only one absolute Ruler, and He is not human; there can be only absolute rule where all the other qualities are co-ordinate and co-extensive in justice, goodness, and truth, by which abstract rule should be framed.

But because that Primary Ruler and Creator left man not in absolute rule by himself,—on the contrary, left him vast freedom of action,—I repudiate despotism, even when, perchance, a liberal despot reigns, because his successor may be a tyrant.

Why do English statesmen so often halt in the effort of establishing better laws? Why have they not gone forward and allied themselves to the cause of the pure?—the pure wherever to be seen, in whomsoever found, in whatever country practised. I fear the answer is, because they themselves are not pure enough; they are yet devouring the impure—the forbidden.

This paradise of a country, yielding abundant increase, affording wondrous facilities for the promotion of a glorious Eden, is almost at a stand in the cause of progress, fearing to

ally itself to what?—to to the Pure—to the Just—to First Principles. Whence comes this fear, this hesitation, this timidity? Doubt not, but know well whence shame came upon mankind; know well whence shame and fear come over man now. It is because he is now immersed in wrong doing, else he now would go boldly forward, ally himself to the pure, fearing nothing. What has man to fear who is allied to the pure? The All-pure is omnipotent. Yet statesmen are fearful of advocating pure measures, just laws, liberal enactments,—and why? Again, it is because in things in which their affections are centred they are afraid of losing: having so much love for themselves, they cannot afford the love for their neighbour; this is the selfish fruit man is yet devouring; living in what might be a paradise still, still eating forbidden fruit.

Cast off this viper, this reptile, grovelling nature! Rise from the animal to the man; *fear no alliance with the Just and True*. Take no history for thy caution, when the evils of mankind have frustrated good designs, to deter man from any attempts to establish holier laws. Look not upon other countries as enemies, when they are attempting to shake off the chains of corrupt institutions. Learn to see the depravity from which they struggled to relieve themselves. What glorious examples have we in some of the great struggles of the neighbouring country, France. How simultaneously once the spirit of the generous and the true entered every man's breast in 1790, notwithstanding the devastations ~~the~~ demons of power—in rank high and low—made upon that holy attempt.

Notwithstanding the slurs that our pseudo-zealots heap upon that revolution, the fraternity of sentiment that followed the struggles of nature in casting off the selfish rule that existed prior, is a grand illustration of the fact that selfishness alone severs man from man. Remove this, and generous true love enters the breast, and all creation is but a bond of love and union.

What struggles did that enterprising people make to conquer within themselves the prevailing nature of humanity, *i.e.*, self. How did they succeed for a short time from the highest to the

lowest, not in the least exempting the king himself, poor Louis XVI., who deserved a better fate. He, too, gave up all for the Constitution. Such glorious specimens of national patriotism, of self-sacrifice for national good, were never witnessed before. It was as if the spirit of the Holy One went forth to make perfect the earth. A fearless love of the just entered the breasts of the whole nation, Paris and provinces. A standard was raised of what was right at that day. The wrong was made to crumble before it. Oh, glorious doings, so well commenced! The prison of torture—the Bastile—first fell, and no longer could conceal the innocent victims who were rotting in its dunghill dungeons. Along with this fell the *lettres de cachet* which peopled its awful walls; the facile instruments of undeserved severity and cruelty, which the priests and courtiers so frightfully abused.

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## CHAPTER LI.

### TEMPORARY TRIUMPH OF THE GOOD AND GLORIOUS IN 1790. THEIR RELIANCE UPON HUMAN AID ALONE.

THIS fell, and the bishops' Pharisaic ascendancy tottered to the ground. Monasteries yielded up their victims, tithes abolished, state religion became less corrupt; truer adherents there were in motive and practice. Hereditary nobility abolished, June 19th, 1790. Thus fell hereditary rights—the opponent of the distribution of wealth, the enemy of progress, and the stultifier of the mind. Too good a law for the sin of the day. Also fell rotten representation: universal suffrage was then proclaimed.

Thus, then, corrupted laws also staggered and fell. The whole nation was a glorious confederation on the 14th July, 1790. All opposing interests and people became one nation,

united as brethren. Divisions of class, party, and religion were forgotten. Man again finds God, though calls Him Nature. He embraces his country, then he embraces humanity, with his whole heart, which compasses the whole world,—not too large an area for the magnitude of their good hopes and intentions. Certainly the unselfish spirit pervaded the whole of the French on that day ; their love extended to all mankind.

I commenced this work by showing that the minds of all beings in the universe are governed by laws immutable, yet ever adapted to human mutations. In the undertakings of the French in 1790 we have a remarkable instance of this. The mind of the French nation then responded spontaneously to the governing influences of the universal law. It was not a partial movement, neither in object nor place : it was not confined to class nor locality. The people had received a grand elementary influence, impelling them to action. The influx was pure, immutable, originating in the Divine governing law. Hence we can account for their pure love of justice, in whomsoever and in whatsoever justice was required ; for their love of each other extended their fraternization to all the world, hoping to extend the helping hand to all suffering nature fettered by corrupt governments, which stamped the face of the whole world. But, *anguis in herba*, how soon were their hopes dissipated ! how soon they experienced the mutability of man ! how unprepared were they really to receive the Divine impress—to be governed by Divine laws ! While, perhaps, the French people were the most adapted to attempt the redemption of human legislation, because of the prompt energy with which they answered to the Divine dictate, and because of their peculiar idiosyncrasy of character, which rendered them instruments, for a short time, of spiritual influx ; yet they relied so much upon human wisdom, that they forgot the Divine ; and, while they destroyed, they could not always build up a better superstructure. Having destroyed the Bastille, they had not subjected the evils of their nature to the custody of incorruptible power. Having destroyed the tithes and the accumulated corruptions of the Church, they forgot that, like that Church, they



themselves were liable to similar corruption, unless upheld and withheld by a power superior to humanity. They occasionally forgot to know from whence the spirit that actuated them had sprung; whence originated the holy sentiment that swelled their hearts and enlightened their minds, to see and act upon what was right and good. They omitted to recollect that human mutability was not to be depended upon; that power lies in the spiritual mind, not in the body without the mind. Mind is the *Primum Mobile*. The ethereal is the potential in matter even; instance steam, the gases, and electricity; that the spiritual is the potential in the minds that govern the bodies that govern the world. Cut off this mind from the body,—how impotent its staggering and blundering attitude! Cut off the spirit of First Principles from the mind, the ghastly aspect of death, pallid and torpid, ensues; perverted and fiendish the man becomes; the animal lusts and passions usurp the throne of love and fraternity.

The mind is governed by laws immutable, but man too often confounds human inventions with Divine laws. Laws divine are immutable, yet ever adapted to human mutations. Man makes the change of action, and pursues one line of action one day, and alters it the next, because he allows an inferior impulse to regulate him, and prefers it to the Divine. This was clearly exemplified in the French revolution; notwithstanding, we ought never to forget the purity of the first sentiment that first set that country in motion, and look upon that grand event as an indication of a new or fresh adaptation of governing influx into this world.\* Let us be careful how we denounce it, fraught as it was in its after course with misery and cruelty. The difficulty in restoring national rectitude can best be seen in that of the individual. How conflicting, how vacillating, is our own progress, and all because our house is not made clean within, so that when the good enters, evils combat against the good, conflicts ensue, struggles of life and death shake the whole frame of man; for the powerful enemy within can only be

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\* See Swedenborg's "Last Judgment and Divine Providence."

driven out by a greater power than he, and that power we cannot see with naked eyes, so we forget often to call in that aid; or selfhood shuts the door against him, or hatred enters too strongly into our composition—yea, the hatred of the wrong, causing us to do wrong to conquer wrong. Shall I say the French did wrong to overcome wrong? Shall I say Louis XVI. did? Mirabeau did? Lafayette did? Marat did? Camille Demoulin, Danton, and Robespierre did? I know it is too often done by all. Had Robespierre relied less upon human reason, and sought more for the elementary law from Divine wisdom, to guide the grand movement, the movement would have been less errant and more successful. Had he studied infinite and universal laws and human weakness more, and Jean Jaques Rousseau less, and paused to look into himself, and raise his thoughts from thence to the Infinite Governing Power, the Ruler by primary principles, the cause of legislative progress might not have been retarded so much, nor have suffered so much by bad examples.

If, then, difficulty exists in individuals, how much greater must be that difficulty in nations composed of millions of individuals. Man cannot command himself. Who, then, can command and govern nations but the Omnipotent? How weak must man be in all his vaunted, self-sufficient strength, who does not demean himself to power omnipotent—everywhere, in everything.

The grand mistake in that revolution was, that the Church—though shaken, made to totter—never fell; nor by protestation was it changed. New bottles were not substituted for the old, but the old bottles were left with new wine; so that the little good that remained in their papistical vessels soon burst, and was shed abroad, and emptiness characterized again their gilded walls.

No temple representing First Principles had been raised from the embers of the revolution. So conflicting dynasties and factions soon laid hold of the spoil, and all is lost again, leaving not even a wreck behind. England's dynastic duration in permanence may be explained by the fact of the obscuration, if

not by the extinction, of the lineage of the bygone Plantagenets and Tudors. If the Stuarts be not extinct, the House is allowed but that duranee vile, which, were it presumptive, would be worse than annihilation. But the planting of the footsteps of William and Mary on the land of Great Britain was not to perpetuate an old state of things, which had become distasteful because of its corruption, but the Hanoverian House was regarded as synonymous with progress, both in Church and State. Our existing royalists in the nineteenth century must not then ignore, nor mistake, the mission of our present House of Hanover; for, certain it is that, if Great Britain go not forward, she will retrograde. She must be continually advancing in that reformation, both in Church and State, which characterized the throne that the Prince of Orange ascended, comprehending, as he did, the genius of the people over whom he came to reign. Let not our Sovereign's best and most devoted subjects forget the genius of this day, as France in her backslidings is now doing, has often done, and will ever do, as long as First Principles are not recognized—first in an ever-reforming and progressing Church; next in the same ever-reforming and progressing state. Let Great Britain never forget her mission, as France, through her Louis Napoleon, has done. He that should have raised France to a glorious second empire has corrupted her very institutions, dissipated her once hopeful position as the leader in the constitutional liberties of Europe, driven into exile the best spirits of France, crushed the press, menaced every voter—until all has become servile submission to the WILL OF ONE BAD MAN, who is so rapidly approaching the acme of infamy, that his fall is inevitable, unless he speedily retrace, and find his own best interest lies in doing good.

## CHAPTER LII.

ERROR OF JUDGMENT COMMON AMONG THE INFLUENTIAL  
OF THE WORLD.

THERE is in all the affairs of men the sign of fallibility of judgment. Inconsistency appears in all that man has handled—religiously, mentally, or physically. Go where you will, in whatever country, among whatever people, of whatever colour, or caste, inconsistency everywhere stares you in the face. This applies to all times, whether ancient or modern. Inconsistency there is even in all attempts at improvement, and certainly not the least in the Churches of the world. Inconsistency is manifest in the chief promoters and defenders of Churches, and inconsistency in the destroyers of them. Of this France has furnished us with abundant evidence.

It would appear that the same error attends man's doings now amongst what we call civilized nations, as attended the Sabæans and the Chaldæans. A. H. Layard, in his "Nineveh," furnishes us with useful accounts of the forms and modes of worship adopted now by the Yezidis, who recognize one Supreme Being. Their inconsistency, however, shows itself to us in their dread of offending the evil principle—"carefully avoiding every expression which may resemble in sound the name of Satan, the Arabic word for 'accursed.'

"When they speak of the Devil, they do so with reverence, as *Melek-el-Kout*, the Mighty Angel.

"They believe Satan to be the chief of the angelic host, now suffering punishment for his rebellion against the Divine will, but still all-powerful, and to be restored hereafter to his high estate in the celestial hierarchy.

"He must be conciliated and revered, they say, for as he now has the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of rewarding them. Next to Satan, but inferior to him in might and wisdom, are seven archangels,



who exercise a great influence over the world; they are Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Azrael, Dedrael, Azraphael, and Shemkeel. Christ, according to them, was also a great angel, who had taken the form of man. He did not die on the cross, but ascended to heaven. They expect the second coming of Christ, as well as the re-appearance of Imaum Mehdi, giving credence to the Mussulman fables relating to him. Sheikh-Adi is their great saint."

Errors similar to these of the Chaldæans exist amongst civilized Europeans. How similar were the acts of the French people to the belief of the Yezidis! The latter worshipped the devil—the former acted the devil; amid the virtuous impetuosity that prevailed to promote virtue and truth, the French frequently invoked the aid of demoniacal influence.

The cause of all this is to be traced to the fifty years that preceded the Reign of Terror; to the rhapsodies of Voltaire—to his fulsome panegyricism, to his anti-Christian mania, to his reliance on incredible traditions, whenever they were opposed to the Bible. In fact, Voltaire ceased to praise God, and spent a life in writing to praise man; and not even the best men, but the great amongst the royalists of Europe who had power and liked flattery. Could he have mixed up in his compositions the spirit of Christianity—the true, kind, and just sentiments which those beautiful sacred writings he so desecrated had provided for him—Voltaire might have been able to have contributed to the building up of a better state of things, as well as have promoted the pulling down of the corrupt existing fabric. Had he read the Stoics more, and courted the great less, he would himself have been a better man. It was more necessary to have had *Candide*—the infernal *Candide*—to represent the frightful pictures of all the miseries of human life—to have even this infernal laugh, than to have those panegyrics.

More bearable was Fontenelle's warfare against faith, than Voltaire's fulsome rhapsodies and withering sneers. Whilst such men, together with Diderot, penned every wild thought that entered their brains, the way was being paved for the

removal of some of the dross of the earth ; but in removing that, the gold was carried along with it. Such men were not likely to become the refiners of the earth permanently.

To agree with Bossuet and say, that all things that God has done or permitted (*Discourse on Universal History*) since the Creation of the first man, have been co-ordained with an eye to a single event—the establishment of Christianity—would be less difficult than to agree with Voltaire or Diderot, or Fontenelle. But even Bossuet has mistaken the means for the object and end in view ;—man was not made for Christianity, but Christianity was made for man ; and this, I think, explains the enigma which the French critics could not unfold. Were man made for Christianity, how is it that more than two-thirds of the human race are not yet Christians, and never have been ? The answer appears to me to be, that the end in view is mistaken for the means. True and real Christianity, universal as a doctrinal system and universal in practice, would be a glorious state of things ; the happiness that would ensue seems too blissful to contemplate as possible in this world. But, unfortunately, where Christianity exists as a propaganda, it does not even there prevail in practice. The creeds and the churches are there, but the pure spirit is not carried out, neither in the laws nor in the government. The legislator omits the spirit of it in his acts of parliament, timidly fearing to adopt the good that abstractly could *not harm, yet fearlessly adopts the harm that cannot abstractly do good.*

Were the pure spirit of Christianity to become the basis of our legislature practically, were we to look upon it as, for us, to be more used, and not professed without being used, this bulwark of our constitution would change, and the beautiful summer's sun would brighten over all our people gloriously. The earth would yield her increase abundantly, for the practice of the liberal, the generous, and the just would show forth the world in the warmth and light that truly shines over it ; *i.e.*, the light of divine munificence, enough and abundance, everywhere and for all. This would spread a halo over all, then would our song be :—

“All people that on earth do dwell.”

Yet I say, Christianity was made for man as a means to an end—that end, perpetual felicity. Were man made for Christianity, man would be making God, which is an absurdity; yet this is what Pagans fancied they did of old, and what professing Christians *de nominâ non de facto* fancy they are now doing, building up their own fancies as God, when we are building up Christianity. He who is, was, and ever will be, cannot be built up. We can only build ourselves up by using His means, and by practice. “Inasmuch as ye do it unto the least of one of these little ones, ye do it unto me.” This is not building God, but obeying him, and benefiting ourselves.

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### CHAPTER LIII.

#### THE REPUGNANCE AT THIS DAY TO CULTIVATE THE HEART.

THERE seems to be a natural repugnance at this day, even more than existed in the eighteenth century, to cultivate the heart. The mind is cultivated, but whence this reluctance in the cultivation of the generous? Is it because the world imposes on the generous? Now, then, I think we have it,—we impose on the generous. Whence is this? where does imposition commence, or where ought, first of all, the absence of imposition to be found? Certainly and indisputably, at the head of the nation—with the heads of the Government. Is there an absence of imposition at the heads of all or scarcely any governmental department? If there be not, who then can be expected not to impose? Whence are we to look for the prestige of virtue, but from the governmental departments? Where are fled the pure spirits of legislature in this our day? Like the walls of our churches, they remain; but where are the living souls? We have the garb of the men, but where the man, where the soul, the sentiment? We have now neither *corde* *non* *judicium*;

nor have we even in this day *judicium non cordem* ; yet we want both for the requirements of the time. Not justice nor understanding only ; not wisdom without the generous feelings—without the heart. Nor is it well to have the generous sentiments without the wisdom ; but what we want is both—*cordem cum judicio*. The heart and the commensurate wisdom are the true qualifications for a statesman or a churchman : such a happy combination of character is certain to bring about happy results. Let us inquire, in the name of God, why this harmony of character is not more sought after, why not more cultivated in our schools, and, above all, not more regarded in our colleges, where our lions for religion receive their learned instructions ? Of all places where good conditions ought to be carefully preserved, for youth to acquire a happy combination of character ; how is it that in those very colleges there exists a greater indifference to this culture of the heart than elsewhere ? Whence have arisen not only the absence of the heart culture, but the presence of corrupting influences calculated to destroy the heart ? Because the integral man is not so much the object of the present age as the half man ; because government fear to have the rising generation scrupulously honest. Their own one-sided legislature will not bear the scrutiny of that pure light which emanates from a pure heart ; because pure justice, unconnected with our statutes, would have so much to pull down before there were means to build up the truly just and good. The falling of these old ruins would bring down themselves to what their natural pride revolts from, but in which, were they as much in the love of good as they are in the love of the great, they would experience no descent. On the contrary, they would hail with pleasure an approach to the happy medium, the *juste milieu*, which, after all, is the soul of life ; and, but for their nature's pride, this would yield them happiness abundantly.

Let us examine minutely into the causes of all these erroneous proceedings, which are so much more conspicuous among the managers of the affairs of the nations than amongst the quiet and uninterfering. One great cause we can trace to the love of



superiority, which self-righteous parents consider they have a right to inculcate and carefully preserve in their children; when from this culture proceed all the irregularities and wrong projects in the affairs of the nation. The love to be superior, distinguished from the love of superiority, will explain all that is necessary. A love to be superior implies a proud desire to be better than your neighbour. This becomes very evident when we explain the fact by examining our secret motive power—our first incentive. We shall find, if we be honest with ourselves, that there is a desire in our nature to be greater than our neighbour; the existence of which exposes a lurking selfishness at the bottom of all our actions. The pure spirit of Christianity never taught this, and yet the important men of this nation do not dream of possessing any other motive to action. Nor can they bear to investigate the motive which first prompted and now regulates all their actions. Yet this spirit of rivalry should only be allowed to exist in the early years of the schoolboy, and even then be carefully guarded, checked, and rooted out from his principle of action, as far as possible, before he leaves school. The emulation which schools find a useful means of urging a child to learn, is always dangerous, and should be supplanted by a better motive as soon as a nobler sentiment can be awakened. But to allow it to grow up into manhood, and to prevail amongst our important men at the head of the nation is lamentable to witness, and is inexpressibly baneful in its consequences, because it becomes the prolific nursery of the most rank and corrupt qualities in our nature, which spring from pride and selfishness; all things, therefore, partake of this hue in after life. All men strive rather to excel for the pride of it, rather than for the facility it offers to be useful. Hence the imperfections in our legislature. Hence the taint of guilt that tarnishes all our government operations.

Too much regard is bestowed on the showy rather than on the useful; too much admiration for eloquence and talent, and too little cultivation of the will, the quality of the desire—the heart.

Let us not imagine, however, that the beautiful, the ornamental, are to be despised or neglected. Mankind, indeed, may be infatuated with these, till they begin to corrupt the heart; till vanity begins to destroy the man, and bedeck him with fulsome sophistry. Then it is time to put off the ornaments, lest the man be lost. Better maintain the man, than, for the sake of the ornaments, the man be cast away. Better, surely, lose the ornaments than lose the man.

After the heart is made proof against these corrupting adornments, then cultivate the elegant and the beautiful; till then, cultivate the heart, in order properly to enjoy the embellishments of life without destroying the man.

No longer, then, let us allow our acts of parliament to bear the guilty tints that brand this age. Let not pride be in the ascendant, but, with due submission, let us bow to a more sacred shrine. Let not the adventitious be the *sine quâ non*, but let the integral man be the grand aim of life. Let our legislators no longer timidly fear the right that cannot do wrong, but let them now and for ever fear the wrong, that can never be made to do right. Let the good and the great be ever distinguished from the great without the good; then shall we have no man taking office for the pride of it, but for the uses he can perform in it—the services he can render his country.

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## CHAPTER LIV.

THE ERROR OF RECOGNIZING THE PRIORITY OF VICIOUS POWER  
INSTEAD OF THAT OF VIRTUOUS INTELLIGENCE.

HUMAN nature ought now to have acquired higher principles than to be attracted into office for the mere honours of office, much less than for any pecuniary consideration. Society ought

now to be sufficiently advanced to justify an expectation of this kind. Ought not the love of usefulness to be sufficient inducement? The satisfaction of serving your country in any civil capacity, ought to be as commendable as anything chivalrous. Interior motives of the good and useful ought to be sufficient for a statesman of the 19th century.

When such spirits can be obtained for State purposes we may expect laws that will wear a different aspect altogether, and the rights of man—the long-talked-of immunity of a denizen of the world—might be established. Now, the wrong fetters the right, enslaves the good, and hoodwinks their eyes, lest they should see the horrid abominations of darkness, its deeds be known, and man be freed.

Would not abuses arise out of such immunities? is the natural inquiry; and would not man become injured? I answer this by another inquiry. What injures man, good, or evil? or what affects his moral condition,—right, good examples, or bad ones? Our Lord Chancellors of England, in that corrupt Court of Equity, have injured society more than a legion of devils let loose upon it. Recognizing no laws of real right, but by delays and blinding forms, giving the innocent a prey to legal vultures. Of all things, let not power abuse its prerogative, says sound reason, for therein is a fertile source of corruption; yet the very reverse of this have nations practised,—the very abuse of power has been thought by our feudal kings and lords to be justifiable, but by them only. The law, "*Nullum tempus occurrit regi*," is a full and clear proof of this abuse of power—that no time of rightful possession should avail against a king. That a king should not be expected to respect the laws for the upholding of which his office is required,—is an outrage to society; and though such law be now removed from our statutes, such a tinge remains among our legislators up to the present day, that power, they would have us believe, has a right to abuse the people's privileges. Why, the highwayman might as well say—Because I have a revolver, and am armed, and you are not, I have a right to your money.—Now, the law of the country recognizes such acts as a robbery in the highway-

man, as undoubtedly it is. It does not say, because this man has more power in arms, therefore he has a right to take from another that which is not his; yet it has the infamy to wink at acts as heinous as this, and far worse, in their consequences, when these are connected with the power of the State.

Regarding all things of creation elementarily, and not adversely, we shall find the law, "*Nullum tempus*," to have had its origin in the lowest of the animal propensities—greediness—the worst species of selfishness. It has been upheld by an abuse of power, and perpetuated through ignorance and depravity. Nevertheless, it is a violation of principle, and by whom? A king, whose high office, when in right analogical order, represents the pinnacle of justice; instead of which, this law became the very depth of injustice. It is the very same principle as influenced King David in his conduct to Uriah.

The abolition of this outrageous law has not yet produced corresponding good in other laws; outrages are allowed to be perpetuated partaking of a similar bias. The corrupt influence of such a law continues to contaminate the mind long after the suppression of the law itself. Much in our legislature has a tendency to proscribe rather than to build up the man. To retain power and to keep the public subject, seems even now to be the grand aim of governments; as if an abject condition were the best for the maintenance of order: the very reverse of this is actually the case.

We neither require poorness of pocket, nor poorness of mind, to have an orderly, obedient people. We might trace the origin of all revolutions, both in France and in England, to these two kinds of poverty. The rich partisans who are poor in mind stir up the poor, who are easily made discontented, and easily urged to revolt. This has often been done to hide fragrance of corruptions, which would otherwise become so evident that no people could behold it and submit to a government that only perpetuated such a state of things.

A thorough constitutional government, with none of the *nullum tempus* bias, need not fear a want of due order amongst its subjects, nor a want of patriots. What is the mental source



of resisting tendency in a nation but unfairness, real or imaginary? The same qualities which unite one man to another when in order—viz., goodness and intelligence—will be found to have the same effect in subjects to their governments. When they feel the claims of virtuous legislation, and the justice flowing from their wisdom, there will be attractions as powerful to the centre, and as certain, as there now is in the earth to its orb of day. The influence of the sun upon the earth, causing by its genial rays a response from all nature, yielding up its grateful odours and fruits, is not less certain than that a just, genial government, based upon genuine principles of good and truth, would call forth a response from all the people, that would yield with gratitude whatever the State required, and for all. The central warmth and light of purity generating its own kindred guarantee,—a kindred of principle surpassing even that of blood, flesh, and bones,—guaranteeing order and adherence on earth as it is in heaven.

Then have we not a right to expect a new man, “more perfect in all his proportions, harmonious in all his activities, living and healthful in all his organs, and as certain to be obedient to a government of order, as every lower faculty of the new man is certain to lend a willing obedience to a higher faculty?”\* The analogy is unerring, applying to nations as to the construction of individuals. Let the centre only be right, and the circumference partakes of its source, as of its parent and sustaining power. “Every higher power giving its best insight and guidance to the lower, and through this vast man, which will embrace in its form every nation, kindred, and tongue on the earth. Then will flow in a full, even, continuous tide, the life of Divine goodness; and the light of Divine truth will irradiate his countenance with the glorious beauty of heaven. Humanity will become transfigured, its face will shine as the sun.”

It will, indeed, be “a new heaven and a new earth,” compared with which the “former shall not be remembered nor brought into mind.”

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\* “Intellectual Repository,” Oct. 1855, No. XXII.

## CHAPTER LV.

THE FASHION OF THE DAY GIVING A WRONG BIAS TO THE  
FORMATION OF CHARACTER.

LASTLY, this selfish interposition on the part of electors and statesmen, this short-sighted *natural* human policy amongst statesmen especially, that of interposing self for the free and happy laws of Infinite rectitude, laws of Omniscience, laws of Prescience, and Omnipresence. Oh, lofty statesman, in thy vanity what hast thou done? Perverted the very object of thy mission; turned, by thy selfish nature, the free exchange of commerce and of money into a fiendish thirst for wealth and grandeur; unwholesome in its desire, and alike unwholesome in its effects. How hast thou given a wrong bias to human progress? How hast thou sought to feed the worst and most dangerous ingredient of the human mind by pride? Is not thy very Court pompous, and all thy marks of distinction gaudy and selfish? Look at thy worse than wreck of right. Corruption reigning everywhere; self and pride interposing everywhere; partial and unjust patronage and preferment everywhere. Are not thy doings the very opposite of what would emanate from statesmen wise and good? Art thou not seeking to make the great greater, and the weak weaker? Thy greatness is not that kind of greatness that is coequal with good, but thou rejoicest in the proudly great and the indolently affluent. Art thou not seeking by rigid legislature to uphold these, and maintain them at the expense of virtue, at the expense of industry ill requited? How is it that certain things never become fashionable, nor characteristic of *ton*? It has become the fashion to be polite apart from kindness, which ought to be the true origin of politeness; yet it has never become the fashion to be good and kind, apart from the external garb of politeness. In some families kindness is found to

be more inherent than in others, but an acquired kindness similar to an acquired politeness is rarely found.

We find all the graces which can gratify our pride cultivated. Accomplishments that contribute to our grandeur are acquired, and sometimes that which contributes to our littleness is acquired. A great familiarity with the ancients is much regarded, because classical,—not because they were good nor wise, but because we have in all ages sought to gratify our pride rather than our benevolence. How is it that benevolent people are often ridiculed, when talented people, not benevolent, are so much admired? All this indicates the preferences of the day, demonstrating the quality of our humanity. The answers to these questions are to be found in the depravity of humanity. Much has been said of the depraved condition of the lower orders, but they do not set the fashions, and these charges cannot be laid to them. It is quite time that some one should venture to allude to the depravity of the higher orders, and trace the cause of the meagreness of *ton* and fashion to their right source—the pooriness of character in the higher orders. This really gives rise to all the sorrows of the day; seeking for titles and honours, they do not really strive to be useful in paths unconnected with rank and fashion. They pant for display; but, could they perceive aright, they would discover that even their grandeur and brilliancy are bad taste, inasmuch as it is not complimentary to others, less wealthy than themselves. This world never can improve while wealth is only acquired to outshine our neighbour; causing contempt for the poor, and ridicule to the industrious merchant, because he is not of noble blood, nor possessed of titles—ancestral only. The strutting foppery of empty names, contempt for commercial men or the useful members of the nation, can well be witnessed in such works as “*Pelham*,” where bad sentiments abound—where *ton* wears a more hideous garb of pedantry than can be found in any work emanating from the useful and industrious of this nation. But the author of “*Pelham*” must not be mistaken for the character of *Pelham*; if I mistake not, the sentiments of the author are to be found in “*My Novel*,” in that excel-

lent discourse of Dr. Dale's, a sermon in "My Novel," which every man should read and study well. Contrast that character with that of Lady Frances Pelham, the mother, and the reader will not be left uninstructed. In the lady F., the reader perceives a bad specimen of humanity in the garb of fashionable ease and elegance, without virtue, or even the modesty of throwing a mantle over the matrimonial vices of high life. In that of the good Dr. Dale, the vices of the rich are somewhat excused, but much corrected; he teaches them—and all—"to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ;" teaching the "poor in their turn to have charity for the rich, and saying to the rich, respect the poor."\*

I know of no class of men that have so mistaken the object of their career in this life, as have the fashionable aspirants for rank and titles. Man was not born to become a mere outward show—a mere empty shell—a mere chrysalis. The elaborately constructed ramifications of his beautiful organization prove the object of his creation to be something more than wearing garments or titles, neither of which is an indication nor a criterion of the true man. The truly great mind and genuine heart can despise such symbols of dingy assumption, because history, both ancient and modern, furnishes us with examples proving its tendency to destroy the man and ruin the nations of the earth. Too much importance should never be attached to our ancestors, nor to nature's antecedents only, but the present and the future are the considerations that should occupy our minds and regulate our respect. As certain as the great nations of the earth have rested upon their mundane antecedents, upon the honours by conquest, or acquired by the arts and sciences, and have surrounded themselves with luxuries commensurate with their wealth, so certainly have they declined and fallen.

We can read of the pompous and borrowed splendour which decked the empires of the east eight hundred years ago, when we, as Crusaders, were taught the lessons of impious meanness,

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\* "My Novel," vol. i. p. 99, by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Bart.



and the weakness of hollow dignities ; when the Anglo-Saxon and the Frank, &c., felt disgust at the obsequious, flattering terms which saluted the ear of Alexius Comnenus, the emperor of the East. There, in the beautiful, wealthy, and gorgeous Constantinople, with its golden gate, such terms were applied to this monarch as "Sacred Father," "The Illustrious Father," "Most Magnanimous Father," "The Sublime Court," wherein the courtiers asked leave to "speak and live," standing or kneeling in the imperial presence. "The imperial daughter was born in the imperial chamber of purple."

This sickening fulsomeness has never been surpassed except in the incomparable outrage of folly by which the feeble old men, who are profanely elected to reign in the name of the meekest of all, and whose dotish flatterers salute them with such title as "His Holiness," "Most Holy Father," "Our Lord God the Pope," and abase their mean souls to kiss their idol's foot, in the wreck of the imperial city where Cicero wrote and Virgil sung.

This weakness found amongst the Greeks was a common parlance of that day among the Crusaders ; yet how few of similar appellations and gorgeous titles, together with obsequious homage to the magnates of their localities, have been abandoned now we have reached the nineteenth century !

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## CHAPTER LVI.

ACCORDING TO OUR CO-ORDINATE APPROPRIATIONS OF THE GOOD AND THE TRUE, OR THE VIRTUOUS AND THE WISE, DO WE PERSONATE THE BEAUTIFUL.—THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY CONSIDERED.

HUMAN weakness is ever exhibiting itself in the midst of its boasted strength, in the midst of its most sanctified assumptions, either in the philosopher or the saint, in the warrior or the peaceful artist ; stranger than all, it is most weak when relying most on its own strength,—when pride feels most gratified,—ambition most satisfied. Yet, there is the pinnacle of weakness fraught with most danger ; proving that human nature is not independent, with all the beauty of its elaborate structure. Humanity is so formed that every move and climax of motion is auxiliary ; even our appropriations are auxiliary ; our food aids the body, sustains the analogy in spirit, to the continuous vitality necessary to perpetuate the functions. The mouth aids the stomach ; these illuminations and ramifications throughout their various organs will be found to illustrate by analogy the usefulness of the Stoic philosophy preparatory to, and in connection with Christianity. Let us first of all learn not to despise the Stoic philosophers, though they lived some five hundred years before Christ. They may have been the hewers of stone and drawers of water, preparatory to the erection of the Christian system. It is enough for me to know, that Epictetus sustained the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, as did the Stoics of his day. It is enough for me to know that Zeno perceived that *virtue* was the only end and object worth living for ; that he wished to live in the world as if nothing was properly his own ; he loved others, and his affections extended even to his enemies. He felt a pleasure in being kind, benevolent, and attentive ; and he found that these sentiments of pleasure were reciprocal. He saw a connection and

dependence in the system of the universe, and perceived that from thence arose the harmony of civil society, the tenderness of parents, and filial gratitude. In the attainment of virtue, the goods of the mind were to be preferred to those of the body.

The Stoic could view with indifference health or sickness (I do not think they were troubled with indigestion so much in their day). The Stoic was indifferent to riches or poverty, pain and pleasure, which could neither move nor influence the serenity of his mind. Zeno recommended resignation; he knew that the laws of the universe cannot be changed by man, and therefore he wished that his disciples in prayer should not deprecate impending calamities, but rather beseech Providence to grant them fortitude to bear the severest trials with pleasure and due resignation to the will of Heaven. It was the duty of the Stoic to study himself: in the evening he was enjoined to review with critical accuracy the events of the day, and to regulate his future conduct with more care, and always to find an impartial witness within his own breast.

Zeno acknowledged only one God, the soul of the universe, which he conceived to be his body; and therefore that those two together united, the soul and the body, formed one perfect universe.

Had the Stoics extended their thoughts beyond this world, and contemplated other worlds, this philosophy might have been more logical and more complete; but their practice of virtue, and their resignation to the laws of nature, are exemplary qualities that we can follow in our every day duties. They illustrated and studied the laws which regulate nature, aiding nature, which is helping ourselves in every act of supplying nature's orderly demands.

The food for the mind can be illustrated by the food for the body, when viewed analogically.

The respiratory organs afford similar analogical instructions. The nose, the uvula, the larynx, and the epiglottis and the trachea, all aid and are contributory to the appropriation of the circumambient air, by which the lungs can sustain life;

enabling us also to produce and suspend sounds, to breathe them articulately, to take them up, to continue and limit them, according to the articulations and breathing times of speech. Thus we can give utterance and expression to the affections and thoughts of the soul. This affords us the synonym of man's appropriations of spirit. He is ever the recipient of the circum-ambient life; he is himself the expression of that life, in proportion as he allows its purity to regulate him and actuate him, for this sphere of life is like the air we breathe, the continent of inward light. This light of men—the light of life—this ever lives, ever vivifies; and according to the mode of reception by us, we are more or less symmetrical and beautiful; as we become the expression of its purity, so do we become the articulations and expressions of the beautiful. But as we pervert this pure light of life, as we contaminate it by giving preference to the selfishness of our nature,—thus, as we limit and cramp the light of life, we become monsters, demoniacal in appearance, in principle, and in the actions of our life. In this life this is not so evident, because we possess the power of dissembling; but in the spirit-life, man appears what he is in principle—beautiful, as he partakes of the good and wise; monstrous, as he partakes of the evil and false.

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## CHAPTER LVII.

THE CAUSE OF BAD LAWS TRACED TO ITS SOURCE—MAN PREFERRING HUMAN WISDOM TO THE DIVINE, THE LIFE OF LIGHT.

CAN we not discern the cause of wrong or sin? Let us contemplate this quality of the life of light. First, is it confined? is it not Infinite—Omnipresent? This is what the Stoic con-



ceived. Is not the Divine life and light,=the Kudhas and Divas, free as the air we breathe? Are not the types of universality everywhere—ever present? How, within the laws of its own purity of freedom, can the finite confine this life of light with impunity—limiting the Unlimited—finiting the Infinite? Any attempt of this kind is attended with pain, because opposed to the laws of universal operation—because impossible to alter the Perfect and the Infinite; ourselves attempting it, we pay the penalty, and ever must pay the penalty, of preferring the finite to the Infinite—imperfection to Perfection. Free as the air, then, let us become the expression of the Infinite; let us become the recipients of the light of life, and not interpose humanity to the Deity—not allow selfishness to interpose against the unselfish; ever liberal and ever spreading, and ever spread, light of life. In this light of life we live, move, and are happy, enjoying life; without an open and uninterfering reception of this life and light, we pay the penalty of interposition, which is misery. Every act of disobedience to the light of the soul, is sin.

This interposition, exercised in the peasant, is the cause and the act of disobedience, which frequently ends in dishonesty, listening to the suggestion of the animal nature of self law—individual law, listening to the self natural human power, which is always false, because always dependent, and human in its composition, instead of listening to that beautiful and peaceful inner spirit that is ever attendant on humanity (like the air that ever attends his respiratory organs), supplying him with adventitious means to become strong and free, and to soar above into loftier motives. He can then indeed ascend, rising out of and away from the natural human—the selfish human—looking for a purer motive, a motive that lives after this life; not suggested by selfishness, but by love—by the generous incentive, breathing around the good of all, acquiring wisdom only for the accomplishment of the one object, the one motive, the promotion of genuine good, and extending the hand of true friendship and liberty to all, that the greatest number may enjoy the greatest good.

The interposition and resistance exercised by men of commerce impede the free action of commerce ; selfishness interposing, instead of freely living and freely letting live, leads the way for excuses in trickery and deception, until commerce becomes a vocation of cunning practices, amounting in some to actual robbery. Here again the natural human, or selfish human, is the great destroyer of right motive. Unless this influence be subdued, the practice of men will become fiendish, and the result will be misery, and this country become an abode of fiends, every man robbing his neighbour, instead of every man assisting his neighbour in an exchange of commodities fairly and honourably transacted. Commerce was intended to enhance our bliss, *so that every man's wants it should be every man's desire to supply* ; not that one shall become greater than another who is equally frugal and industrious, but that all shall, by the exchange or purchase of commodity, not by trickery, usury, or theft, become more equal, not more disproportionate,—that all should become more accommodated, not more inconvenienced, as by speculation. No law will bring about this state of things but the law of limitation of wealth. No one individual should possess wealth beyond a given sum ; all amounts beyond that sum to be taxed at the highest rate, in order that the common wealth may have a tendency to division ; so that needy youths arriving at maturity, who are known to be honest, frugal, and industrious, shall not have such difficulty in finding means to place them in a business or a profession on their own account. The Romans had a law to this effect, and practically good was the result. It was a law to limit the extent of estates in land, by which no citizen should be allowed to engross above five hundred jugera,\* or to have in stock above one hundred bullocks and five hundred goats and sheep.†

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\* About 300 acres.

† The Agrarian Law.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

THE TRUE SPIRIT OF LEGISLATION IS TO BE DISCOVERED IN  
THE ROMAN AGRARIAN LAW.

A ROMAN citizen in this period might, by the law of Licinius, have an estate of five hundred jugeras, or about three hundred acres; but the ordinary patrimony of a noble family was probably far below this measure, and the lot of a citizen in the new colonies seldom exceeded seven jugera. The people were lodged in cottages and slept on straw. (Plin. lib. xviii. c. 3; Cicero *pro* Roscio; Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 3.) The Romans, till a little before the siege of Tarentum, had no coin but copper, and estimated property more commonly by the head of cattle than by money. They coined silver for the first time A. C. 485. For gold, it was known as a precious material, and was sometimes joined with oxen in the reward of distinguished services. (Livy, lib. iv. c. 30; *ibid.* Epitome, lib. xv.)

This simple law would remedy all the evils under which this country is groaning, and abstractedly would only injure that which in this day cry aloud for rectification—*i. e.*, man's pride and man's selfishness. Thus would commerce become free as the air we breathe; thus would the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet become destroyed, taking great care that lawyers neither become our judges nor our moral teachers. Instead of taking large sums of money as rewards for prowess or ability, as did the Duke of Wellington on every return from conquest, let the young scions of this generation cultivate a nobler gratification—one consonant with true greatness, because unconnected with the alloys of greediness and selfishness. Let the rising spirits keep before them the brilliant example of the Roman consul, Curius Dentatus, who, returning from the admired conquest of Tarentum with his Thessalian and Macedonian captives,\* &c., which were valued at Rome as public

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\* See "Epitome," lib. xiii.; Plutarch in Vit. Pyrrh.

trophies of victory, rather than felt to be the baits of private avarice, or the objects of a mean administration. "The Roman citizen as yet lived content in his cottage, furnished in the rudest manner, and subsisted on the simplest fare. Curius Dentatus, the consul, who obtained this triumph for the reduction of Tarentum, having the offer of fifty jugera\* as a reward from the public for his services, would accept of no more than seven. This, he said, is the ordinary portion of a citizen, and that person must be an unworthy member of the commonwealth who can wish for more."† Contrast that sentiment and the mode of accepting a gift in that day, with that of our last general who distinguished himself at Waterloo in our day. Who can say that England is progressing in character? She may be progressing in that which the Romans, in the time of the Tribunes and Decemvirs, despised, as the corrupting medium of a people—*i. e.*, *the accumulation of wealth, which is the instrument of the Dragon, in order to destroy the peace of the earth.* It destroys even more: it destroys men's souls, and unfits them for a better existence. Better return to the Agrarian laws of the Roman Republic, which limited wealth so that it should not destroy her people. They perceived clearly what is by us almost universally denied or winked at.

The Romans then knew well that large possessions of wealth had a tendency to destroy all that was good in man; destroyed character altogether, destroyed energy and activity, destroyed fraternity, destroyed impartiality, destroyed equality, destroyed, in fact, all that was noble and generous, and led men away from the genuine idea of common good, and of the common wealth. The very common argument, "Equalize the world to-day, and to-morrow it would be unequal," only proves the strong tendency that exists inherent in the world to inequality, which very tendency proves the inordinacy, which proves the necessity of restraint. Not the good for the few, but the good for the many, ought to be the object of every legislator. No

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\* 50 jugera are equal to 30 acres.

† Ferguson's "History of the Roman Republic," vol. i. p. 75.



sordid principle ought to actuate the statesman ; any such corrupt natures ought to be considered disqualifications. For, who can, in common reason, consider himself a benefactor, as all statesmen ought indisputably to be, who is doing well for himself only ? Or, who upholds laws that have a tendency to extract from his brother that which, in common, belongs to his brother, by leaving wealth to accumulate in one individual till his excess causes poverty in others ? For all cannot have the much, all cannot be rich in excess ; but the much can be had by all in divisional portions, till comforts, and happiness, and plenty reach all, and men's lives become no longer destroyed by anxieties, which excessive difficulties entail upon him by our present system.

Wealth in excess is an instrument of power, while wealth in excess is not an instrument of good. Then, if wealth in excess be an instrument of power, and not an instrument of good, in excess, it becomes an instrument of evil. A power of evil, perpetuating and multiplying that power as now done, is actually perpetuating the power of evil, and multiplying the power of its abuses.

It is no longer necessary to have large capitalists now, in order to carry out great objects of universal interest—such as steam navigations and explorations. This capital now can be raised by joint stock companies. The many might raise the much, to the benefit of the many, rather than to the rich few, who can hardly be said to be benefited by additions to their excess of wealth, which forms an incumbrance in the very anxiety to look after it.

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## CHAPTER LIX.

IT IS NO LONGER INDUSTRY, NOR VIRTUE, NOR FRUGALITY ALONE, THAT ACQUIRES PLACE AND WEALTH; BUT THE CUNNING AND EXTRAVAGANT ROGUE FINDS THE READY ENTREE INTO PLACE, POWER, AND WEALTH.

It is commonly, but not logically, said, that indolence and extravagance in some, and activity and frugality in others, are the causes of accumulations of individual wealth and poverty; and it would be unjust to take from industry and frugality their rightful gains. Now, I do not propose to take from, but I propose to discontinue any further additions to wealth, after a given ample and sufficient fortune be acquired, allowing plenty for elegances and refinement. But beyond this, no farther practice of it; because, first, man's moral condition suffers. To have meat is good; but to have more than is meat for life is bad, and tends to evil.

Secondly, to continue the sordid acquisition of wealth beyond enough, is greedy and selfish; and man's time might otherwise be happily employed in travelling the world over if he liked—in storing his mind with that kind of knowledge which will enable him to enjoy wealth. Man was created for other acquisitions than that of mere wealth.

Thirdly, because enough leisure should be the portion of every man, enough to store his mind with the beauties and grandeur of creation, in all its varied and ramified excellences; because he should have time to cultivate the perfections of Creation's objects in more matured life, and before dotage creeps upon him. Learn to see the All-perfect elsewhere than in wealth, or in such laws as promote inordinate accumulations of it; because industry is more encouraged by redistribution of wealth than by excesses of it among the few; and because indolence is removed when industry is *rendered attractive* by the diversity which redistribution of wealth occasions in the varied

pursuits of life. Because we have but to increase this diversity sufficiently, and every man's choice will be afforded him. Touch the *right cord*, and every man's indolence is aroused into activity. I have shown that wealth in excess is an instrument of power, whilst the good is not commensurate with the power; but evil is the *quondam pro ratâ* with the power. All governments are representations of aggregate powers; and since power is no indication of quality, it follows that governments are more the reflex of *quantity* of power, than of the *quality* of good in the power. It matters not what is the form of government—whether it be absolute, monarchical, constitutional, or republican—power will govern under any form. In the republic of the United States of America, we discover power in the worst form of oppression, even in the form of slavery; slave-holders representing in their aggregate a power—a quantity, not a good quality of power. These inhuman beings trade with human souls and bodies—work them as animals. They are themselves the animal, because divested of human feelings and sympathies which constitute humanity. These human-being holders increase in their usurped wealth; which is like the highwayman who stole the goods, and declared he had a right to it because he usurped power to steal it. These slave-holders have grown rich, and therefore powerful, and dictate their form of government. They hold slaves in perpetuity, and, worse than all, make it penal to educate slaves.

Here is the reflex of power in quantity, having no regard to the quality. Their decisions become alike the law of the land, the same as if it were co-ordinate in good. Governments, in such cases, are tools of power perverted, and bear the reflex of perversion, as they do sometimes of order. This base prostitution of legislation in America gives a wrong bias to the whole country; twisting and warping all else that would otherwise be good, causing dishonesty to be the bent of the genius of that country, which otherwise would be the very home of freedom.

Where is the country that represents a constitutional form of government? Shall I say England does? Alas, even here is usurpation! Not here can we find the reflex of the many;

but government takes the form of that which is powerful, rather than of that which is good. She may take credit for that which is justly due to her for abandoning slavery in her colonies; but what further progress has she made, or to what extent, in other respects, is the government of England not the reflex of mere power? The power is taken from the individual reigning sovereign, so it is not monarchical; we have done away with *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, certainly, and obtained the Magna Charta, and the Habeas Corpus Act is rarely suspended; we have trials by jury: all which are improvements, and, compared with some countries, are great privileges; but an immensity remains to be done.

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## CHAPTER LX.

CATO KNEW WELL THAT MONEY WAS NOT A MEASUREMENT OF VIRTUE, NOR OF GREATNESS OF CHARACTER. THE VOTARIES OF WEALTH WERE MORE DISCOURAGED TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO THAN NOW.

WE have been a rising country nearly two thousand years, and yet have not made the civil and moral progress which the commonwealth of Rome made in less than two hundred years' duration, and have yet to learn from them how to reject the distinctions of fortune and unmerited rank.

There was more wisdom in the rusticity of Cato, than there now is in all our gaudy aldermanic display, in which a citizen degrades himself by becoming a member; or in the proud glare of our English Court, wherein a courtier receives royal favour, too often without having attempted to render himself worthy of it, by first descending to the lowest grade, in order by merit to rise higher. And yet Cato was not a Cynic, but a Stoic



philosopher, and a Platonic disciple; and though a citizen of the highest rank, and vested successively with the merited dignities of "consul and censor, used to partake of the labour of the field, and feed with his labourers from the same dish, at their meals."\*

"A spirit of equality yet reigned among the members of the commonwealth of Rome, which rejected the distinctions of fortune, and checked the admiration of private wealth. In all military donations the centurion had no more than double the allowance of a private soldier, and no military rank was indelible. The consul and commander-in-chief of one year served not only as a volunteer in the ranks, but even as a tribune or inferior officer in the next; and the same person who had displayed the genius and ability of the general, still valued himself on the courage and force of a legionary soldier."†

What is England now doing, having lived two thousand years, since then? Why, she is acting upon the opposite policy.

1stly. By upholding a spirit of inequality, instead of equality.

2ndly. By adopting, instead of rejecting, the distinctions of fortune.

3rdly. By encouraging, instead of checking, the admiration of wealth.

4thly. In all military donations our commander-in-chief has a hundred times more than the private soldier.

5thly. Their consul and commander-in-chief of one year served not only as a volunteer, but even as a tribune, or inferior officer, in the next; but we in England allow not our petty lieutenant to dine with a private soldier, much less our commander-in-chief to mess with them.

Our time-serving organ of the day, the *Times*, had the daring to allude to the broad shoulders of our privates unfitting them for associates at mess with an officer; although, by valour and merit, they too should have become officers equal in rank. I

\* Plutarch, in Vit. Catonis, p. 330.

† Ferguson's "History of the Roman Republic," vol. i. p. 223.

blush for the sentiment in our leading journal, that has so far retrograded that it advocates the preference of unmeritorious narrow shoulders, such as are the commissioned officers, to the worthy fellows who fought for their position with their athletic broad shoulders, and sinewy hands, and muscular limbs, which should be the glory of the English army, and which have always won our battles.

6thly. "He who had displayed the genius and ability of the general, still valued himself on the courage and force of a legionary soldier." Instead of which, English generals, and even officers, are taught by their own organ to despise the force and strength of their legionary soldier, in contradistinction to "force, they are degraded by it, and are to pride themselves upon their effeminacy, little white hands, small limbs, no muscles, and narrow shoulders." With this I bid adieu to the time-serving *Times*. I regret to have to conclude that England has lived long enough to become inferior, in comparison, with men that lived two thousand years ago.

This makes my remarks hold good that England is, in many things, not progressing, and her government is to a great extent the reflex of perverted power. Instead of the slaves which degrade America, England, under the cloak of freedom in name, covers her reflex of power, which is the oppression of wealth.

Wealth is England's characteristic, and wealth is England's government. Wealth is England's virtue and admiration. No matter how weak, how undeserving a citizen, wealth covers the multitude of sins, and obtains all kinds of preferment, both civil and military.

Wealth, then, is England's power; and proves my assertion that governments become the reflex of whatever power prevails in the nation. They are no longer representations of virtue and wisdom, but of the quantity of power, without even the quality of good.

Notwithstanding all this, we have clergy enough, and pay bishops enough; our tithes are heavy enough, to have trusty men independent enough to speak boldly, to check these in-

creasing corruptions ; but, alas ! what bishop advocates national virtues ? Our watchmen that we pay so well are all asleep, or have national vices so much before them—so constantly before them—that they have grown familiar with them, and fairly embrace the devil, and fondly nurse him who has become their guardian angel.

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## CHAPTER LXI.

### BISHOPS WINK AT CRIME AMONG THE RICH, BUT POUR DOWN VENGEANCE FOR CRIME AMONG THE POOR.

WHAT is our Episcopalian Church about, that they wink at corruption whenever corruption acquires a national character and influence ? Whatever power is in the ascendant, under the protection of government—however venal the power—it is sure to have Episcopalian consent, or silent acquiescence.

Our bishops teach us to be dutiful subjects to whatever form of government exists, forgetting that dutiful obedience might become passive submission to the devil—might be obedience to the wrong, instead of dutiful submission to the right. Why do our zealous cultivators of the soul pay such profound homage to the body ? why are our spiritual pastors such mammon-seekers and title-upholders—such patronage-idolaters ? Because they are more worldly than spiritual ; because they are actually advocating the perversion of life, instead of purity of life ; although purity is especially required by the duties of government. Who can wink at perversion at the fountain-head, and be the true minister of God's word ? None. Those who do so come under the denomination of unprofitable servants, whether bishop or vicar. Who can fear to do right, though he lose his patronage ? None of the truly spiritual, but only the super-

ficial, professional place-hunters. Yet, alas! tell me of one who answers to the former, and I should breathe a new hope, and learn to have a new anticipation; and look forward to some—it might be—very distant but glorious day, in this mine own paternal land.

We have examples enough in the histories of other countries to know how excessive wealth and lucrative appointments have always led to idleness and wasteful expenditure. Even the commonwealth of Rome soon discovered the destructive influence of exorbitant wealth. When the Romans became possessed of great riches, they became the agents of corruption; like our English lordlings, they were satiated with the *ennui* of nothing to do, and sought excitement in the turf; racing led to betting, betting to all kinds of gambling. Thus has wealth with the English, as with the Romans of old, become the agent of corruption, to disseminate the love of idleness and ruinous amusements in the minds of the people.

Soon, even in that grand commonwealth, was it found to be necessary to pass the celebrated Agrarian law of Licinius, by which Roman citizens were restrained from accumulating estates in land. This was renewed from time to time; and above the measure of five hundred jugera, and from having more than five hundred sheep, and one hundred oxen, was forbidden when found necessary. The property of land was beginning to be engrossed by a few of the nobles, in the same way as, long ago, became the case in England. When Tiberius Gracchus sought to mitigate this evil once more, by reviving the Agrarian law, he proposed to make some abatement in the rigour of this Licinian law, by allowing every family holding five hundred jugera in right of the father, to hold half as much in the right of every unemancipated son; and also that every person who should suffer diminution of his property in consequence of his intended reform should have compensation made to him; and that the sum necessary for this purpose should be issued from the treasury.



## CHAPTER LXII.

THE POOR ONLY NECESSARY TO A STATE UNTIL THEY  
BECOME EDUCATED.

THIS project of Gracchus was plausible and good, but it was not seasonable then with the Senate of Rome, any more than it would be now with our House of Peers. The old hackneyed argument that the poor, for their labour, are as necessary to great states as are riches, is but the obsequiousness of an historian\* who dares not speak out.

Why, I go so far as to say that not only none need be poor in great states, but even beasts of burden some day will be superseded by science, art, and machinery; that even horses will become animals more for pleasure than for heavy draughts. I dare to say, therefore, that the distinctions of poor and rich are not necessary to a commonwealth, great or small, after universal education has been established and acquired amongst the poor. Occupations then will become more diversified, and thence more attractive; industry will then become voluntary and pleasurable, and, springing from the heart, will assume the form of amusement and pleasant pastime.

This will not come to pass till many, like Tiberius Gracchus, have dared to speak out, though they be struck to the earth for upholding the cause of virtue and good, though they be even stigmatized by historians as tyrants in the very act of putting down oppression and tyranny.

The distinctions of poor and rich are only necessary until the poor become educated. While education stops their way, these distinctions arise; but promote every man's growth of mind and cultivation of the heart, and these will open up the way to success; and, by the cultivation of the heart and mind, a proper appropriation of property would ensue. The old-

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\* Ferguson's "History of the Roman Republic," vol. i. p. 278.

fashioned notion will take alarm, and ask—Who, then, is to do the drudgery, the work of labour, if all are made genteel by education? I answer, first, from my own practical experience, the best educated in my employ are my best, most agreeable, and most trustworthy servants. I have found “a little learning” sometimes spoils them, until they have learnt more; but the process of education has only to become more general and complete, and this evil is removed.

Secondly. Science, art, and mechanism have only to be more extended, when the hard and tedious work of labour will be greatly superseded, and will daily more and more be made to subserve the labourer, until his education will become the most valuable part of the labourer’s available services.

Thirdly. To the educated employer the deserving are made confidentials, and are both more esteemed and respected, which grows often into friendship; a participation of shares and profits often ensues, which, without education, could not probably take place.

Hence, the distinctions gradually disappear; the gulf between the rich and the poor by education is gradually rendered less wide; the unpleasantness of association rendered less objectionable; man is brought nearer to man; the distinction of mind is less; and though some will not be so very rich, the many will not be so very poor.

Excesses of all kinds injure the community. Moderation is necessary for our bodily health as it is for our mental soundness, directing all operations correctly and orderly; but the inordinate—the excess—disturbs the functions both of body and mind. How, then, can the excess of riches, centred in a few individuals, operate upon a community but injuriously? giving rise to impulsive and convulsive actions, destroying the peace of mind of the possessor, and preventing a healthy circulation and a change of hands, so essential to the good and the wants of the many. Witness the insanities among the owners of the largest trades in the City of London.

As this country now stands, the rich and the poor are alike blamable; their relative positions are regarded by a wrong

standard, and estimated too much by the possession of wealth only.

The rich or poor exercising contempt for others, and an eagerness to publish their errors, is an indication of the absence of charity. To be principled in charity, is to put a charitable interpretation upon the acts of others; and labour rather to excuse their errors than to magnify them, inasmuch as errors and mistakes of reasoning ought not to engross the attention of those who are in charity.

The poor are too often inclined to despise the rich only because they are rich, without inquiring into the good they do with their wealth; again, they are too eager to sacrifice themselves often at the shrine of the very riches they despise in others. This fact is Nature's strong demand to lay hold of help, grasping first opportunities; and is not so much to be condemned in the poor as on the part of the wealthy, who take advantage of this corrupted medium for sinister purposes; as, for instance, employing *unlawful means* to procure a return to Parliament: thus, by breaking the law, to become a *law-maker*.

Now, the world must grow wise as well as charitable. Errors and mistakes of reasoning are pardonable, until they become national—until wrongs are inflicted that are grievous to be borne—when charity and wisdom step in, and intercede for the weaker and more needy, and can no longer ignore the existence of what has become dangerous to the common good. Although these principles have not contempt for either the rich or the poor, they can no longer ignore errors and mistakes when they assume a national importance. To put a charitable construction when excusing errors and mistakes in Government, is a very different case from that of doing so to your neighbour, whom you can admonish and correct in private.

Good motives justify the means employed. When national rectitude is endangered, Charity may say, Don't be unkind, hide faults; but Wisdom, the true consort says, Shall I be unkind to the many, and hide the faults of the many or of the few?—The beautiful spouse, Charity, answers: Be kind to the many, and hide the faults of the many.—Then the consort, Wisdom,

replies : I must publish errors and mistakes whenever they become governmental then, else the few are benefited, and the many wronged.—The beautiful spouse Charity again inquires : Can you not do both, benefit the few and the many ?—Not only eternally, replies the consort Wisdom, but on earth shall the few be benefited after the struggle within their own natures shall terminate successfully in that which alone is estimable ; for happiness really ever accompanies conquests made over the selfish nature ; and when the rich few reflect how they have surrounded themselves with laws, powers, and prerogatives which they refuse to the many, they will become convinced that selfishness (not self-preservation) regulates their efforts, and harasses their minds. Their desire to become statesmen should be regulated by their desire to become useful to the many.—The consort Wisdom again replies : Your sweet wish is my strong desire ; your charity is my wisdom : but the means I employ bear the semblance of rigour, and my beautiful spouse Charity will recoil at the harsh terms of justice and retribution which must precede the benefit to be extended, both to the few and the many. The errors and mistakes of the few in the Government must first be investigated, then published and denounced. The official few must part with some of their loaves and fishes, before they can enter your sweet kingdom ; for hardly can they mingle with charity, having on the garb of selfishness and oppression. The beautiful spouse then loves the wisdom of her consort, and perceives that the few are to be benefited eternally, and the many are to be benefited temporally, not to become proud of their *status* in their country, in its relation to wealth, inherited titles, or purchased degrees.

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## CHAPTER LXIII.

THE HAPPINESS OF THE MANY SHOULD EVER BE THE ENNOBLING ASPIRATIONS OF THE AFFLUENT.—SEEK POWER ONLY TO DO GOOD TO YOUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD.

THE happiness of the many should ever be the ennobling aspirations of the affluent. Seek power to do good ;—alas ! are there any seeking power to do harm ? Taking office for selfish objects is certainly not seeking power to do good ; then what do they seek ? If it be self-aggrandisement, that leads to harm, both to themselves and all around ; for it destroys the love of good and of the many. And yet this principle is inherent in every man's bosom ; it exists there like the worm coiled in the bud, not to increase its beauty, nor add to its health and vigour, but to become its destroyer.

Take care it reach not the throne, for it knows not where to stop ; ambition's ladder has no top, neither hath it bottom, for 'tis a baseless visionary—a corrupt phantom of the mind's insanity.

When, then, the public is the object for which we legislate, private considerations disqualify for the office, because the public cannot be served first while we seek to serve ourselves ; the house is divided against itself. The happiness, then, that should attend the few and the many, is the concomitant gratification that ever attends the result of self-conquest ; for the delight of good practised exceeds that of sordid deeds, as heaven exceeds the earth.

The elementary law is the only perfect law, for it is Divine until it reaches man. Man's transmission of the elementary influx is more or less perfect as he checks the sordid in his own character, and allows himself to be guided by this elementary influence ; this is according to true First Principles. The law itself is not transmutable, but its use by man is ever variable, since man's inverted or perverted nature abuses even Divine

offerings. Man is under the elementary influence or not, as he is unselfish or selfish.

Laws even made by a nation may approach perfection, and yet be abused by the nation, or by the people, who are ever inverting or perverting privileges.

The gratuitous aids that were given to the people of Rome enabled them to subsist in idleness. The wealth that was passing to Rome in the hands of traders, contractors, and farmers of the revenue, was spent in profusion. That which was acquired by officers in one station of command in the provinces, was lavished in public shows, in the baiting of wild beasts, and the fights of gladiators. There is reason to regret the abuses incidental alike to monarchy and democracy, then as now. The sumptuary laws would be found insufficient now, as they were then, to restrain dissipation.

"Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against the shepherds; and I will require my flock at their hands, and cause them to cease from feeding the flock; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more, for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they be not meat for them."—*Ezekiel* x. 34.

Exclusive legislation yet disgraces this country; who more than the bishops, from whom the whole Church takes the key-note, lend themselves to perpetuate oppression and even state corruption. Well might prayers be offered up to our God of love, to preserve and guard the chastity of our English Church now, as did the Romans offer prayers in their temples (titled the Reformer\*), that it might please the goddess of love to guard the chastity of Roman women.

The idleness and indolence existing now, arising out of hereditary privileges and laws of entail, are fraught with similar baneful results. Wealth now is corrupting England as fast and as certainly as it did Rome. What are our young scions of the nobility doing now? Are they not racing, betting, and gambling? What does their elevated blood do for them, but enable them to

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\* Venus Verticordia.

pluck each other? How fast are the middle classes following their bad example! What abominations take place at the West-End, and at College, by the sons of nobles, and those of rich merchants who ape them? Was all this not introduced by the idleness resulting from excessive wealth, upheld by exclusive laws? How can it be otherwise, while such inequality exists that five millions of English male adults out of the six millions have no voice in making their laws?

It will be said that the experience of Governments proves the contrary of what we contend for; that by extending privileges to the masses, they abuse it. I answer, that by referring to history, we shall find not the many, but the few—not the uneducated, but the educated—not the poor and needy, but the rich and self-sufficient—have formed the principal instigators in attempting to change dynasties. The abuse of privilege has ever been created by the higher not the lower orders. They encourage a few from the lower class occasionally, for factional purposes, but only to cast them down again as specious examples of the extension of privilege, in order to perpetuate their political exclusion.

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## CHAPTER LXIV.

### GOVERNMENTS NOT BASED UPON CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES.—THEIR PRIMARY ORIGIN TRACED.

THERE is one thing in which we are dissimilar to the Romans; they were continually re-passing good laws, such as the Agrarian and Sumptuary laws, when they had come into disuse. But, alas! now we have long ceased to dream of any such measures that shall benefit the many; our laws are made to benefit the few, and are the antipodes of true legislation. The very opposite to that which the elementary law internally teaches, and

Christianity long ago inculcated—love thy neighbour as thyself. It does not follow that, because good laws are abused and perverted, therefore they should not be; on the contrary, profit by past evasions and improve upon them; check the sordid in the high as well as in low life; allow the elementary influence to do its own work within you, without opposing selfishness to its unerring dictates and refreshing influence.

How is man to know when he is acting under the elementary influence? He knows it by investigating his motive. He can find out its quality by self-examination. Soundness of motive is the solid basis into which the elementary can flow. To know thyself is to know thy motives. Learn to be upright and fair in all your dealings. In vain will man search to move in the right direction, until he learn to base all his theology upon integrity.

Our Church no longer preaches chastity to their masters and patrons,—no longer practises virtue to their poor,—but has committed a breach of the sacred trust under which they hold their tithes.\* They can no longer be held up as patterns to mankind now, than were the vestals who had committed a breach of their sacred obligations to chastity (sacred to them, though unnatural in itself) could be regarded as patterns of manners to the fair sex of Rome.†

We may have improved in distinctions of form and doctrine, but certainly not in honesty of purpose nor of practice. Who lends a helping hand to the poor unrepresented?

### *The Primary Origin of Government traced.*

We may know that we are acting under the elementary law, when we can perceive that all is co-ordinate,—that our desires are regulated by prudence,—that our affections are guided by

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\* See my after remarks.

† “As I live, saith the Lord, . . . because there was no shepherd, neither did my shepherd search for my flock, but the shepherds fed themselves, and fed not my flock,”—EZEK. xxxiv. 8.



Divine wisdom,—not that our desires are regulated by love of power instead of prudence,—nor that our affections are guided by ambition instead of wisdom. By this self-investigation into motive, we discover the origin of control and government. We know that aborigines establish control in their native wilds by their art if not by their simplicity. The love of control exists in the lowest degrees of humanity, and the means employed by them to obtain it is power. Power, then, is a savage means of control, and has always, even in the earliest ages, been abused. The native chieftain now slays those that oppose the power he obtained, by killing and destroying his fellow-creature. He hesitates not in slaying any number, in order that he may perpetuate his monstrosity, which is his government, his chieftdom, or kingdom.

Wisdom has seldom been the characteristic of governments, but *power* has been nearly the sole characteristic of all governments—ancient or modern, aboriginal, sacerdotal, patriarchal, civil or temporal.

It does not appear now that wisdom is the characteristic of governments even in what is called civilized Europe; because a government, to be rightly constituted, must have for its object usefulness, happiness, and fairness in all its relations with the people.

The love of power, because it affords the means of ruling a whole or part of a people, is a perverted love, and has its origin in selfishness. The love of rule from the love of self is infernal, and will ever produce anarchy, and require despotic forms of government to uphold it, because of its unsound basis. The structure is ever unsound, and requires the aid of intimidation and the practice of tyranny to maintain any semblance of order. Oppression ensues, and instead of happiness for all, misery and injustice stamp the whole. Ultimately the ruler discovers, after a life of turbulence and misery, if not on earth (unfortunately for the *people* he misgoverned) in the spiritual world, he will find that, inasmuch as he sought not the happiness of his people; in conformity with honesty and justice to the many, he did it not for his Great Master, he will find him-

self, though a king or an emperor, a monster in hell. "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of these my little ones, ye did it not unto me. Depart."

It is said (in a late translation of Swedenborg's manuscript from his *Spiritual Diary*, Part vii. Appendix, pp. 74—8, Editor) that—

"All who are in the love of rule from the love of self and not from the love of their neighbour or of uses, retain after death the same love, and wherever they come they desire to rule. This love rushes forth without bounds, in proportion as it is not restrained. This love despises everything Divine, except it can be employed as a means of ruling ; it professes to love those truths, but when that which is Divine does not serve as a medium for this purpose, it not only rejects it but hates it. The reason is because that love is opposed to heavenly love. Such persons cannot be admitted into heaven, and should they, like hypocrites (as a man not having on a wedding garment), insinuate themselves into heaven, they fill the vicinity with an idea and with an image of themselves, and this even when they are speaking about God. Hence such persons infest and offend the ideas of angels which are turned from themselves to God. Hence it is, that such spirits are driven away ; many of them are merely corporeal, because they are immersed in their selfhood, and are not elevated above it. Such spirits are borne away to the boundaries of the spiritual world of our earth, where a lake smoking with fire appears, into which, as such a lake corresponds 'to the state of life they had contracted in the world, they are cast.'

"I beseech all men in the world who read these things, to beware of the love of rule for their own sake, and not for the sake of uses, or of love to their neighbour. Let them know that this love is diabolical, and that in it are all evils ; let them know, and let them well consider, that all evil loves and cupidities are involved in that diabolical love of rule—power grounded in self-love ; even such evil loves as during his life in the world a man is not in the least aware of. I have seen examples in abundance of those who, in the external form, had in the world appeared moral and as Christians, but who in their hearts had thought of nothing else than about themselves and the world, and were associated after death with devils.

"I saw one for a considerable time who was so lofty in his spirit that any one could scarcely be more so, and yet in the world he could speak with theologians, and morally with all others, and could more than any other feign what is just and equitable ; but after death he became so fiery a devil that he not only denied God, but *wished* to be the devil himself, if he could but exercise rule and fight against God, and destroy heaven. He burnt with deadly hatred against all who acknowledged the Lord ; he was frequently punished, but in vain. If I were to relate the malice, the cunning, and the wicked deeds of such spirits, I could fill many pages. Amongst such spirits I saw what a devil Charles XII., from this diabolical rule, had become.

"Not only are all the wars engendered chiefly by this diabolical love of rule and power, as displayed in Charles XII. of Sweden, of Nicholas of Russia, and of other despots, who have filled the earth with misery and woe ; but all, or nearly all, the animosities amongst individuals and communities, are originated in the same diabolical spirit. This is the Babylon which, in the Romish church and others, has organized itself by degrees into an external system of power, so deadly hostile to all the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of the human race."\*

"Most of the frauds and consequent law-suits which have wrung the hearts of millions with anguish, originate also in the same source of so much evil to mankind.

"This great evil is more or less characteristic of our fallen nature, and it is one of the first principles which endeavours to put itself forth in our earliest developments. When the child strives to have its own 'will and way,' in opposition to the will of the parent, it is this evil striving to come forth, and if not checked by salutary and when necessary by severe discipline, it will gain ground, and the child will grow up into a tyrant and not into a man, and after death he will become a devil instead of a man.

"Some who in the world had worshipped the Lord, also worship Him after death ; whereas it was discovered that many who have professed to worship Him in the world, after death turn out to be His worst enemies. It was then said that any devil could be driven to worship the Lord, provided only it be promised to him

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\* Edit. "Intellectual Repository," No. XXVII. p. 100.

that he shall become great ; and still more devoutly would he worship the Lord if it be promised to him that he should become the greatest. It was then permitted that a devil should come forth out of hell, who was most hostile against the Lord, and it was told him that he should be made the greatest by the Lord, when he endeavoured with all his might to lead all to the Lord, and to compel them by empty threats, saying that the Lord alone should be honoured and worshipped ; he thus addressed them with earnestness and persuasion. At the same time, he was thinking all the while that he should become the Lord's Vicar, and thus himself exercise dominion and power over all. But when he found himself disappointed (of the wished-for dominion and eminence), he detested the Lord, and became, as before, his deadly enemy, and was cast into hell."

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## CHAPTER LXV.

MAN'S LOVE OF DOMINION IS WORSE THAN THE ANIMAL'S  
LOVE OF PREY.

To what does the love of rule correspond ? In nature we find the lesser ruled by the greater instinctively. The small fear the great because the great eat and devour the small ; the weak fear the strong because they may be killed by them. This is not the love of rule, but the love of prey, within the order of their instinct. The little fishes are devoured by the large ones, because the large want food, not because the large want to rule. Man eats also, and has killed the small, or the weak, or the large and the helpless ; but, in addition to this, man loves himself more than even the brute animals of the earth. More selfish than they, man desires to rule and govern what he can neither eat nor drink ; and not for others' good, but for his own aggrandizement—to raise himself to greatness,



without at the same time having the desire for goodness at all commensurate with his desire for greatness.

This is a demoniacal desire, worse than a mere animal one, to which nothing is analogous either in plants or animals.

An involuntary process is going on both in the Cryptogamic and in the Phanerogamic classes of plants. In the former, an obscurity and humbleness of character, which is their attendant, would seem to teach man the lesson to cultivate an unassuming character for himself, which is his better nature. The ferns, sea-weeds, and lichens, of the Cryptogamic class, have nothing analogous to ostentation, the love of grandeur, or display. Neither is ostentation prefigured in the Phanerogamic, which includes all kinds of trees, shrubs, and the remainder of the herbaceous vegetation of our planet. Beauty and greatness of size, an exquisite and elaborate elegance, quiet grandeur and sublimity, are in their forms, but no vain assumption.

Every geometrician and mathematician well knows that the laws of nature are perfect, and that, when they have learnt their law, they have a reliable guide. When man shall have learnt the law of analogy which reigns throughout nature in the vegetable and animal worlds in relation to himself, he will have learnt a law by which he shall guide both his governmental operations and his individual proceedings.

In both the vegetable and animal worlds there is a common archetype, and a variety of sub-types, easily distinguished in the tribes, orders, classes, and genera. The entire animal world is divided into Vertebrata and Invertebrata; the vegetable into the Phanerogamia and the Cryptogamia, or the flowering and flowerless plants. A further division of animals is into the Vertebrata, Articulata, Mollusea, and Radiata; and of plants into Exogens, Endogens, Cormogens, and Thallogens. The Vertebrata comprise man, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and reptiles; the Exogenia comprehend the oak, the apple, the olive, the rose, the aloe, and almost all the fruit and trunked trees—the perfect realization of the concentric layers. The beautiful rings in the section of the wood, the usefulness of fruit, and the elegance and beauty of the flowers; even poison

—or, better, the medicine—in the aloes ; the strychnia, or quinia—all correspond, if we can only discover wherein lies their order of analogy.\*

All creation is revelation, when regarded psychologically ; all creation, but man, is useful and unassuming, however beautiful, great, or elaborately perfect. Nature is not vain ; though rich and beautiful, nature is not proud ! Man may learn from nature the little he can do, the much that God has done ; and blush at pride, that ignorance compounds and changes his love of rule to love of use—his love of power to love of the just and fair apportionments for all. But for this love of power, our neighbour's wants and rights could be as well supplied as our own. It is only a proud love of rule which thinks the peasant and the artisan unworthy voice or vote.

He that loves his much, and more than much—himself unworthy, thinks his neighbour so ; himself all-important, leaves no importance for others. “How hardly shall the rich enter the kingdom of heaven !” Well may they make the most of what they can get out of time, for they will be nowhere in eternity—with all their self-importance and exclusive legislation.

Who laws can make that justice overthrows in every word and fact of legislation ? What contrarieties in life ! What anomalies in ruling man ! Who needs the most, the ruler or the ruled ? Who that himself hath governed, seeks to govern others, without extending the usefulness and fairness of his rule ? Copy nature—copy not man !

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\* See Unity of Nature, in “Intellectual Repository,” No. XXVIII., p. 154.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

CREATION'S PERFECTIONS ARE TO BE SEEN IN NATURE'S BEAUTIES, WHERE USE AND ELEGANCE COMBINE. NATURE, NOT ONLY ANALOGICALLY, BUT IN ITS OWN PROPERTIES, PROCEEDS FROM THE DIVINE OPERATIONS.

WHAT, copy nature? Yes; copy nature's beauties,—nature's excellences. Where use and elegance combine,—where goodness and grandeur entwine, in order to realize the end and object in view; that end not grandeur, but only accommodation to the end in view. Use grandeur as a means only when it subserves good and use, wisdom and justice.

How much the fashion—and yet how old the fashion—'tis to awe the world with grandeur and display; not from the love of elegance and refinement of character, so much as from greediness and ostentation. Is it not quite time now, that we grew into better motives of action?—that we thoroughly investigated our motives, dealing honestly with ourselves, scrutinizing even the primary movement instigating the motive; instead of an inquiry into actions, let men now inquire for themselves into *motives*, and the causality of motive. How many would discover enough to frighten themselves, were they honest enough to be frightened, with *depravity in their secret motive*.

It is to be confessed and lamented, that no motive is thoroughly pure in human nature; man cannot be perfect—"none are good, no, not one." If man were perfect, eternity would be satiating; but as man is ever being perfected to eternity, rising higher and higher, more interiorly; or exteriorly only, as it is subordinated to the higher and interior. Eternity is a delightful future of variety, afforded by progress, ever presenting fresh scenes and fresh beauties; more chaste, more elegant, and more beautiful as progress onward moves, ever presenting fresh feelings, new to each one, as progress

advances upwards ; fresh causes of motives, fresh results, fresh impulses and incentives,—all regulated by an elementary law, which none can change, because it is perfect—because it is Divine.

This applies to progress only, and to those who love to progress. To those who have not progressed we turn. What say they to eternity, who retard progress, who think none have a right to progress but themselves, which is an act of suicide ; who still persist in exclusiveness ; who, as they shut others out from the franchise, would shut them out from heaven—would, if they could, have that kingdom all for themselves, the select few ; the very selfish act of which, with all their wealth and grandeur, is destroying their hopes in eternity—the suicidal ! “Depart from me, I know you not.” He that would not confer heaven on his fellow man, how is he fitting himself for it ? The act of extending it to others, is the medium by which it is procured for ourselves.

A writer who may not be popular, or who may be indifferent to general popularity, as society is now constituted, will not have credit given him when he asserts a new thesis, however true it may be : while a popular writer may assert any thesis ; although logic cannot affirm it, fashion may ; while running in current, foibles are not noticed.

It might be said that kindness is abused,—and so it is where kindness is exercised without judgment. Man must not be indolent during the exercise of kindness even ; indiscriminate kindness is an act of injustice, because it encourages both the evil and the good alike. Attractive industry is a science worthy the study of every kind heart ; therein lies the gist of kindness.

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## CHAPTER LXVII.

ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY AS A MEANS TO ACTIVITY PREFERABLE TO INDUSTRY SUPERINDUCED BY EMULATION.—THE LOVE OF PRIDE DESTROYS THE MAN WHILE INDUCING HIM TO BE ACTIVE.—RENDER OCCUPATIONS PLEASURABLE BECAUSE ATTRACTIVE, AND INSTEAD OF DESTROYING, WE BUILD UP.

To teach men to love occupation by means of attractive inducements, is a most salutary study. Some may bring the philosophy of Epicurus against me, and say that this world is not a place for enjoyment,—that all pleasures have their alloy. That, to some extent, is true; but the cause is, the pleasures are not chaste and pure, or not taken in moderation; the impurity is the very alloy. Improve the quality of pleasures and recreations by extending public buildings and institutions of art and science attractively; remove the exclusiveness everywhere and in everything. Start with the Apothecaries' Hall; make them write their labels in plain English, not in dog-Latin. Alter the entire system of exclusiveness wherever you find it, and the earth, we shall find, will have within herself all the elements of happiness. I would rather be an epicure, than follow the cramped notions of our pseudo-orthodox men. It is supposed that the Epicureans mistook human nature, when they supposed all its principles resolvable into appetites for pleasure or aversion to pain. I am not quite certain of this; honour and dishonour, excellence and defect, were considerations and terms that may have had useful tendencies, but they have done a vast deal of harm. I prefer to awaken the love of pleasure, rather than the feeling of pride. Talk of excellence, honour, and greatness, and you make man proud and ambitious: talk of something amusing that excites attention, and bring the mind into action through its own attractive power, and you inspire not the pride of man, though pleasure may insure

and attend the pursuit. All nature sings and blooms afresh, all the vegetable world laughs and plays, throwing forth for man beautiful colours, yielding choice odours and flowers, gratifying two senses of enjoyment at once—the smell and the sight. Nor do minerals fail to gratify the sense of pleasure, dazzling the eye to the simple, and furnishing studies to the Stoic and utilitarian. How much they contribute to the pleasure of man is best known by their use, and the pleasure those are known to have who are fond of them.

It is the perverted idea of Epicurianism, to say that the loves of virtuous pleasures are grovelling and vile,—that they are the sources of dissipation and of sloth. This is true of some pleasures, but this was not Epicurianism. The true disciples of Epicurus pursued pleasure only when consistent with virtue and wisdom. They wished to raise the quality of happiness, and aimed that pleasure should not have the alloy of vice. The greatest alloy I consider to be pride. Others are to be found in violations of principle. The love of false excellence and honour, which we cultivate proudly, has done more harm to society than the love of pleasures, when the pleasures have been consistent only with virtue.

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## CHAPTER LXVIII.

### EPICURIANISM FURTHER CONSIDERED.—ITS ABUSE BY JULIUS CÆSAR.

THE love of dominion and the lust for power shows itself to be ever selfish, and, opposed as it is to the love of one another, has done more harm to society than ever pleasures have done, which in themselves produce satiety. The love of excelling must be qualified by the usefulness that excellence maintains ;

otherwise, when I wish to excel I become selfish, and my efforts to excel may lead to a desire for a throne, as it did with Caius Julius Cæsar, Pompey, and Louis Napoleon. History teaches us that the love of good, unconnected with excelling, was *not* the cause that Cæsar grasped at a throne; neither did Cæsar act upon the principle of epicureanism when he set out for his first military command in Lusitania, but even in early life he profaned philosophy, and used it as a tool for selfish ends. In a life of dissipation, licentiousness, wasteful extravagance, and corruption, he spent one hundred and fifty millions of Roman money, or one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling. This much, he said, "he required to be worth nothing;"\* thus he wanted that much to make him a solvent man, long before he became emperor of Rome.

To an honest man excellence would seem incompatible with such a debt; but to Cæsar, as with too many of this day, the standard of power was mistaken for the standard of right. He knew by his obtaining this appointment he could soon overrun the country, supply his own wants (by power instead of justice), and enrich himself and his army by plunder, instead of by honest exertions.

Hence through his military career he lost the sense of justice and acquired the sense of power, as did Pompey, as did Louis Napoleon, and, alas! how many others? Rather ask, who of reigning monarchs has not?

I would not, therefore, hold up Julius Cæsar as any specimen of epicureanism, rather as a perverter of that philosophy, though a pretender. Cato lived the stoic better than Cæsar did the epicurean, although each used the creed most congenial to his idiosyncrasy.

Attractive industry must therefore not be prejudiced because great men have been found to abuse the exercise of power, nor because epicureanism was perverted by great men, as were the best things of creation.

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\* Ferguson's "Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic," vol. ii. chap. 22. Appian, de Bell. Civ., lib. ii. p. 715.

The religion of the day is just as much abused by men in power, who make it a tool to the perpetuation of this wrong standard of power, declaring abstract justice to be impossible in so heavily taxed a people. What, then, must we come to? Why, relative or comparative justice is all we can expect, and all we shall ever get; which implies patronage and interest, purchase instead of merit, favouritism instead of virtue, State-craft instead of wisdom. We are, therefore, so far from attractive industry in such a country, so far from having our industry made pleasurable, so far we are from the happiness of having a choice on the pleasures of virtue and the happiness of wisdom, that I shall cease saying more on the subject in its relation to epicureanism.

## CHAPTER LXIX.

### THE STANDARD OF POWER—ITS PATRIARCHAL ORIGIN.—THE SENTIMENTS OF LOCKE AND HOOKER.

It is one thing to know what exists, and another to find out the cause of its existence. The patriarchal notion may have been written down, but the practice of it has never been discontinued *de facto* even in this country. England has altered the names of things, but retained the practice which the old names implied.

The standard of power is still recognized instead of justice, notwithstanding Locke wrote so much on government in refutation of the patriarchal scheme. One would think such a work as Sir Robert Filmer's, deriving absolute monarchy from patriarchal government, consisting of arguments the most absurd and flimsy, would be certainly too highly complimented, even by a refutation from so great a logician as Locke. One can hardly think a man of sound mind could write such nonsense as did this author, nor conceive what object he had in its composition, unless it were to perpetuate in history what



the intelligence of the day began to denounce. As a toady, or minion of Court, I can conceive a motive, though a very bad one, for writing such as that "*paternal power is regal power*,"—that Adam's title to sovereignty by fatherhood,—Adam had royalty, royal authority,—pp. 12 and 13; absolute lordship and dominion of life and death, "an universal monarchy; Adam was a king from his creation."

First of all, the term Adam, used in the singular, seems an absurdity. It is collective man\* that is meant. You might as well talk of Israel in the singular. I look upon Adam as a people or a Church, as was Israel. But, returning to the patriarchal idea that fatherhood is regal, this is certainly calculated to uphold the present exclusive system practised in government. Our government is more patriarchal in this fashion than we expect, and the royalty of fatherhood is the prevailing regulator of the actions of men in power and office even in the present day.

Locke says, "Political power I take to be a right of making laws and attended by penalties of death, and, consequently, all less penalties for the regulating and preserving of property, &c., and *all this only for public good*."† Mark this; he does not say for *private good*, but *public good*.

"Of the state of nature. A state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man. *A state also of equality*, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal. *No one having more than another*."

"This equality of men by nature, the judicious Hooker looks upon as so evident in itself and beyond all question, that he makes it the foundation of that obligation to mutual love amongst men on which he builds the duties they owe one another, and from whence he derives the great maxims of *justice and charity*."

Hooker's words are: "The like natural inducement hath

\* "He called their name Adam,"—Gen. v. 2.

† Locke on "Government," pp. 176-7.

brought men to know that it is *no less their duty to love others than themselves* : for seeing those things which are *equal must needs all have one measure* ; if I cannot but wish to receive good, even as much at every man's hands, as any man can wish unto his own soul, how should I look to have any part of my *desire herein satisfied unless myself be careful to satisfy the like desire, which undoubtedly is in other men, being of one and the same nature.*"

This is a very different standard of action by which to regulate ourselves, from that which is practised in the present day. Here is, first, mutual love, then justice and charity ; all of which is adverse to vague power, unrestricted as it is in our legislature by mutual love, equality, justice, and charity. Square these beautiful sentiments with our exclusive system,—with the law of primogeniture,—for the upholding of which the Patriarcha must have been written. Square with any patriarchal feeling the public charities engrossed by the clergy and aristocracy. Square this with aristocratical monopoly of public property, with our treatment of Ireland. The Irish Parliament bought up by Lord Castlereagh ; see the list of barristers who received rewards for talent only without principle.\* Square Locke and Hooker with the specimens of ministerial peculation in different reigns,—with the bad examples of old monarchs, the predecessors of Queen Victoria, who is happily free from charges of this kind,—with bad examples of royal licentiousness, robbery of the soldiers and sailors by aristocratic placemen, the very efficiency of our army endangered by it ; see their sufferings in Holland and America. Similar to which compare the unnecessary privations and sufferings in the Crimea, occasioned by an inefficient command and disgraceful commissariat in our day. Square their sentiments of equality, justice, and charity with the constant practice of employing the people's money to destroy the people's

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\* Phillips calling God to witness to what he knew to be an untruth, for which disgraceful act he was made a judge,—also Sir Fitzroy Kelly swearing upon apple-pips,—and ask them, "Is this patriarchal, thus to plunder your great family—the nation?"

political rights, by raising wars in order to repress the attempt at a sinking fund. How the Crown itself is held captive by the aristocracy! Compare justice and charity with the aristocratic monopoly of all offices of State—their possession of the pension list—their conversion of offices and pensions into hereditary and vested rights—the list of pensioned lawyers. Square mutual love with the aristocratic monopoly of the whole of the Church property. Take them to the precincts of their professed advocacy. Nay, it is the same with their own Church; and how have they *acted Christianity*? Otherwise than polluting it? By the adverse practice of its teaching—by selfishly and greedily appropriating even sacredly devoted property to themselves.

## CHAPTER LXX.

### ALL NATIONS HAVE BEEN CORRUPTED BY ARISTOCRATIC DOMINATION AND ABUSE.

Is it not enough that history furnishes us with proofs incontrovertible, that all nations have been corrupted by aristocratic domination? that they have ruined every nation in turn, ancient and modern? In Greece, in Rome, in Europe, and Asia. Can it be possible that we shall allow all the experience of the world to afford us no lesson? Or is it essential to our existence? No, not at all essential to *our existence*, but to *theirs*. As robbery and plunder are the elements in which the devils of hell wish to riot, and without which they think they would be dejected, miserable, and overwhelmed with the torments of remorse, so is it with our greedy aristocracy; plunder is the very element of their existence, without which they would die of grief, weeping, as did one Alexander, that there were no more countries to plunder and destroy.

For what did Locke write so clearly on Civil Government? No man can read him and mistake him that intends to practise what is right. He says: "The state of nature has a law, a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one; and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that, being equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, *health, liberty, or possessions*; for men being the workmanship of one Omnipotent and infinitely *wise Maker*; and being furnished with like faculties, sharing all in one community of nature, there cannot be supposed to be any subordination among us, that may authorize us to destroy one another, as if we were made for one another's uses as the inferior ranks of creatures are for ours," &c.

"And that all men may be restrained from invading other's rights," &c. p. 179.

A thorough knowledge of the history of nations in all ages and all countries will convince any man that governments always have been, as they always will be, full of mistakes and errors, so long as their principle of action is regulated by mere human ingenuity. Until a standard be raised based upon the elementary law, recognizing no strokes of genius unconnected with virtue, no brilliancy of action without rectitude of purpose, recognizing, in fact, no power whatever without a co-ordinate will of good, based upon the Christian principle which Locke and Hooker laboured to inculcate, "Are we not all the workmanship of one Omnipotent? and, being furnished with like faculties, sharing all in one community of nature?"

How much longer will the indolent aristocracy arrogate to themselves a superiority of talent? But because they might have had it once, it is no proof that they have it now. In fact, literature, science, and art prove the contrary. What have they left but usurped power to recommend them to the country, since they depart from virtue and rectitude of conduct, by their exclusive legislature, their selfish greediness in shutting out all but themselves, as far as they can, from having franchise, office, or influence in their own state? Why practise in this day the mysteries that were practised in ancient times before Chris-



tianity? Why practise the *disciplinam arcanorum* after Christianity? Is it not profanation and insulting to Divinity to practise the habits of pagans, while we profess Christianity? Paganism had its mysteries, and they were bound not to tell what they knew, and thus extortions were practised upon a facile people. Now, why did they make themselves mysterious? why did they always practise the exclusive? and say then, as our men in office say now, Be silent on matters which implicate ourselves; let them (the people) have not the loaves and fishes, lest, having once tasted them, they come again, and there remain less for us. What you cannot explain to the people be mysterious upon; hence the term mystic is derived from a Greek root which signifies to be *Mum*, or silent.

Let us not confound this with the internal, which is superior to the external that has not conformed to the internal: there must be preparation for reception of that which is interior, or profanation would ensue. Milk to babes and strong meat for men applies spiritually; but to imitate a divine proceeding by the greediness of exclusiveness, is quite perverting what ought to have been held sacred. It is profanation of the blackest dye, because it is making Divinity appear to sanction acts which emanate from hell, not from heaven.

## CHAPTER LXXI.

CRIMINAL LAWS PUNISH ABUSERS OF RIGHTS; ENGLISH LAW-  
MAKERS REWARD ABUSERS OF OTHERS' RIGHTS.

It is a law inherent in nature, logic, philosophy, and theology, inherent in the very object of creation, that men should be restrained from invading each other's rights; yet, in the face of this, notwithstanding, we have the civil laws recognizing and

acting upon this principle, *the governmental proceedings entirely throw the principle overboard*, have recourse to subterfuge, deceit, mysticism, and hypocrisy, and all in order to invade others' rights—to seize the loaves and fishes, the high places, and multiplied patronage—to perpetuate sinecures, and, in order to secure their uselessness, to make them hereditary, descending alike upon idiocy and wisdom. Because these rights are evaded, because of their own abuse, they cannot allow an extension of the suffrage, nor any equalization of electoral districts, nor any honest measure that would interfere with their retaining that which they know does not belong to them, but which they can only retain by the exclusive principle. The ruling parties are sometimes called by the name of Whiggism, sometimes by that of Toryism, just as you like. If you pay your money in enormous taxes, you may make your choice of *name only*—the characters and the farce are the same.

The farce is this : the governing power is not recognized in our courts of justice as amenable to question only where it can be made evasive by unprincipled lawyers. A man knocking down another, robbing another, invading others' rights, in courts of justice is amenable to the law, and is made to pay the penalty : no evasive pretext is held good, such as that the one is more powerful than the other ; but in political rights withheld, a very different rule prevails.

## CHAPTER LXXII.

POWER IS THE STANDARD OF HELL ; VIRTUE AND JUSTICE  
FORM THE STANDARD OF HEAVEN.

THE right use of power is not recognized in civil law ; although too frequently, if it be the moneyed power of wealthy influence it

prevails, much to the disgrace of *those who make the laws*. In this day of intelligence, government-men unblushingly invade others' rights in all the peculation that place and power facilitate, without the remotest regard to justice; and, at the same time, they shut out all measures that would obstruct their means of perpetuating this iniquity.

Raise, then, another standard than that of power. Look upon power only as what the devils in hell aim at, irrespective of any one principle of good. Is earth to become hell by this standard of power? Is rather the kingdom of Heaven to come by raising up and practising at the heads of nations another standard, consistent with virtue and wisdom, goodness and truth, justice and charity?

Virtue and justice once made the primary and essential standards for all actions, and every branch of legislature made to receive its incentive through such benign primary movers, the flimsy fabric of expediency becomes unnecessary. As we advance to the primary, the elementary, or first principles, so we find the complexities of principles and action removed. Perplexities and complexities exist in the human, but not in the divine. The nearer we approach the elementary, the nearer we are to the pure and simple—the Divine.

Purity requires no expediency *per se*; impurities require the expediency, the help, assistance, and mediation; as the man whose members and limbs are sound can walk without the aid of crutches or sticks. He, however, who is unsound or broken limbed requires aid as he goes along. There is immediately an addition of material; sometimes even irons, with cranks and joints, with screws, bolts, swivels, and axles are necessary to supply even a small deficiency. So it is in principles: virtue and wisdom can run alone, requiring not the aid of laws; but as men increase in their defections, the remedial becomes increased; and, *pro rata*, with varieties of crimes is the need of the compensatory expedients. The man of defective virtue and wisdom should be treated analogous to the man of defective body. Repair the damage done in this case, as in the other, by educational regulators—stretchers, splinters, and stays.

Watch well the first indication of sense and action ; provide teachers of high tones of integrity and wisdom. First let him be taught to regard honesty in all action as the basis of all life. Begin, however, always with the child. Encourage the generous by the earliest teaching of good nature in little things, by early gifts and kindness, to other little ones. We should consider always that if the heart be not sound and the principles be not good, the child is analogous to one of unsound limbs, and ought to be much more deplored : alarm ought to be much more readily taken than even when a limb is defective, because of the contaminating tendency one tainted principle has. The whole fabric, soul and body, is endangered. A defective limb does not destroy the soul, or the essential of the elementary ; but the defective principle or soul will lead to the destruction and dissipation of the entire body, and so both soul and body become lost and ruined temporally and eternally, unless the remedial become effective : therefore the defective in principle is infinitely more important to be remedied than a defective body. “ Better have one eye to enter heaven, than have two to enter hell.”

The importance of analogies will soon be recognized when regarded in this way. When the body, in its defects or otherwise, is seen to carry with it the symbols of perfections and imperfections, of soul, of principle, of quality, we shall soon find that correspondence is not language only, but a reality—not a life-illustrating principle only, but a life-giving principle.

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## CHAPTER LXXIII.

ALL ORDERS OF ACTION FOR MEN MUST BE THEOCRATICAL,  
PHILOSOPHICAL, AND PRACTICAL.

WHAT precedes action? Motive is prior to action that is not involuntary. That motive must be pure to be in right relation to the theocratical; it must be wise to be in right relation to the philosophical; must be useful to be in right relation to the practical: the first bearing relation to man's soul, or psychology; the second to the mental; the third is the result of both—action. Motive is a component of the soul and mind, therefore precedes action, and not only precedes action, but imparts quality to it. The truer the correlative to the first—*i. e.*, to the Divine, the purer the motive—because the incentive springs from the right source; as the truer the correlative to the second, the philosophical mind, the more comprehensive and expansive will be the action. The better the union of both, the more prudent, happy, and useful will be the practical.

How often and how general is the opposite of all this, the order of action, and will continue to be so as long as men regard the corporeal more than the psychological, the earthly rather than the eternal, the selfish rather than the unselfish and Divine. Were mankind to regard the motive of their action before the action, the necessity for the action itself would often disappear. Labour and life would be often spared were men to regard the psychology of their existence as the first in importance, and the mundane as the second in importance; the happiness of life would increase tenfold—in fact, earth would again become a paradise. It is the motive of action that concerns the soul, which, when pure, produces all the rest in right order of action; when selfish, bad, or impure, produces a wrong order of action, and fills the world with misery: the paradise is thus lost. Were men's motives pure, would they bet with each other in order cunningly to get the money out of a neighbour's pocket, and

put it into their own? Were they in right relation to the Divine—to the first motive, cause of purity, they could not but, not having been taught to consider the real motives of things, but much about obedience to Church and State, both of which have at present very questionable motives. As they now exist, all things on earth are tainted, more or less perverted. Obedience to Church and State is necessary; but Church and State should test first their own right order of action, their own motives, and endeavour to purge their own principles. Their practices would then alter themselves, and would do away with their unfair patronage, their pluralities, their partial exclusiveness, and all the abuses that have crept into both.

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

### PURITY OF MOTIVE PRODUCES RIGHT ORDER OF ACTION.

As the motive acquires purity, so it produces a right line of action and establishes order, happiness, and beauty on earth.

A pure motive can only do the works of purity; but interfered with by that which belongs to man's natural motive—*i.e.*, selfishness—the motive at once receives an alloy, becomes tainted with the love of self, which presents another field for action,—another apparent world for action, and with short-sightedness allows the lower nature to usurp the higher, and carry it away for an apparent present gratification instead of a permanent benefit, in which both soul and body partake. This is what human nature always feels disposed to do; and the first account of man represents this falling into temptation as the cause of sin then. It ever has been since, and is now, the cause of sin. A wrong order of action has ensued; the motive has not been examined,

but the short cut to the shadow has been aimed at, instead of the orderly way to the reality of life ; which, after all, is what we shall have to get to, and must be put back to, until we get again back to the right starting point.

Listening to the selfish instead of to the pure incentive, is the temptation in spirit which comes into action disorderly, entailing all kinds of misery upon man, and makes confusion and wrong regulators upon the whole earth.

Man has acted as if he were a machine requiring only motive power of some kind or other ; enough for the object of the machine it has a motive power ; so much pressure upon the square inch regulates that, without regarding the quality of the motive power. But man must not only have a motive power, but paramount is the importance that this power in man shall have purity of quality. So much beyond the physical has man to attend to, so much even beyond the mental, man must ever hold the soul's incentive to action as the most important. He must regard the varied phases of this psychology, and let this first inbreathing into the soul be the constant and all-important object of life. That it be not interfered with by the short-sighted selfishness which enters into the composition of human nature, which selfishness is the tempter that every man carries about within him as he does his watch, but which is more constant in its efforts to triumph and destroy, than is that instrument constant in its movement.

Allow the inspiration of the pure spirit to regulate all our motives, words, and actions, then harmony, order, and beauty will reign on earth ; the kingdom Divine will come. The will Divine will be done, which is co-existent with purity of motive. The earth will wear the aspect of beauty, as will the inhabitants of it become glorious and beautiful, as they become pure in motive, word, and action.

It is most important that religion should have its motive pure.

No religion can exist really unless the motive be pure. Professions are therefore to be scrutinized by one's own conscience. To examine thoroughly the object of our profession, let us ask

ourselves if there be anything sinister in our motive? whilst we adopt a church, attaching ourselves to some creed; as if that were the saving point, without the regard paid to the motive for adopting it. Let us pay deep attention to the moving of our hearts, and first endeavour to see whether we are honest to ourselves,—whether we have not committed a fraud upon ourselves by professing from a wrong motive,—whether we have only one sincere desire to grow more considerate to our neighbour, to be thoroughly honest in all our dealings, to be generous and wise, to be thoroughly good and kind. All this has to do with motives. Even if we adopt a creed only in order to have our sins forgiven, we exhibit a selfish motive, forgetting also that a besetting sin to be forgiven must be renounced and abhorred by ourselves, by the inward reproach called repentance; and not until then do we arise out of that self-reproach with a fixed resolve to avoid wrong doings by the Divine strength, is forgiveness available to us.

The sincerity in asking for what we think we need, has all to do with us but not with the Divinity. He cannot be more than the most pure. He is, while we only are *to be*, all kindness and mercy; giving and forgiving is the essence of His nature in the superlative degree—all the attributes of Divinity are superlative. When we are really sincere and contrite in asking aright, we are certain that the forgiveness is ever at hand. If the motive be pure, the Divine response is ever as sure as it is pure and holy. The Divine injunctions are emphatic on motives: “If thine hand offend thee cut it off. If thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If thine eye be good, thy whole body shall be full of light;”—evidently alluding to quality of action and quality of motive.

A higher condition than this even is to be found in the grandeur of conception, that the Supreme will and provision embraces all conditions of men—comprehends the satisfaction of every requirement before the verbal demand of man; but which cannot reach the man till the will desires and assents honestly. The highest order of reliance can be expressed in “Thy will be done; Thy kingdom come.”



## CHAPTER LXXV.

THE WICKED SHALL BE CUT OFF FROM THE EARTH, AND THE  
TRANSGRESSOR SHALL BE ROOTED OUT OF IT.

IN what way, and when, are the wicked to be cut off from the earth? Not by wars, nor famine, for that would be the alternate mode of operation, beginning at the wrong end. Men that are destroyed by wars are not cut off from the face of the earth because they are wicked; neither, for the most part, that their transgression shall be rooted out of it. Wars and famine are the results of human error and ignorance. The Divine mode of operation is removing the wickedness, not the man—is outrooting the transgression, not the transgressor. Divinity would not destroy the body to cure the soul. Man must be made clean in the ultimates of his existence; that is, in his natural body. He must reform, reform, and reform; and cut off any habits whatever, rather than the whole body should be destroyed. The object of the Creator is to make pure the man; and yet, how long has this been doing! how many thousands of years, and not yet accomplished! What are the evidences that His glorious kingdom is coming? Or, is it the constant error of humanity that they are expecting the earth to bring forth an Elysium, spontaneously or instantaneously, while iniquity abounds? As well might we expect hell to send forth spirits of light, instead of those of darkness.

Rather, let us understand that it is to make itself known by an internal evidence, not an external. The kingdom of God is first implanted within when it is genuine, and then it has to become expressed in a true order of proceeding; and only when it has become the expression of the internal can it be said to be the benign evidence of the kingdom Divine. When the will Divine is done, then is the heart rightly disposed and inclined to act co-ordinate with the Divinity—co-ordinate with

all His beautiful attributes. Man would be honest then, and just, virtuous and wise, good and intelligent; not proud, but useful—not doing good from the love of approbation, but from the love of use. The ornamental, the elegant, the refined, would partake of the graceful innocence of harmlessness, and simple beauties could be loved and admired for their purity; while the expanded mind and the diversified intelligence would receive the right incentive to action from the goodness of innocence.

Let our men holding high offices in the State look well to this, while their motive remains only in the love of the ministerial seat. To retain this, they throw out and reject honest and wise measures; they reject progress, because they love office rather than the people of the country for whom they hold office, and by whom they are paid. Until these self-placed heads of nations honestly investigate their motives, and thoroughly purify them from this gross selfishness, the upright cannot dwell in the land, nor the perfect remain in it. In vain they make us pay for churches, whose prayer is that “the kingdom of God may come,” when by their every act they are shutting out the kingdom of God, and establishing the kingdom of man, in demoniacal contrivances and arrangements; verily and truly establishing the kingdom of selfishness and pride, not the kingdom of honesty, usefulness, and refinement of motive.

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## CHAPTER LXXVI.

EVIDENCE THAT THIS IS THE DAY OF ERROR STILL.—  
INEQUALITY CONSIDERED.

Not only in this day, but ever since the day of the Adamites, have the State propagandas of the time been erroneous, in some degree

Buddhists beginning to see their errors in the weak and miserable notions they produced? Have not most of the Pagans and Pantheists witnessed theirs? Have not the Israelites, the Mahometans yet seen errors in their creeds and Kôran? Have not a large number of Roman and Greek Catholics seen the vicious results of their errors? Have not many of the German Lutherans seen wherein they err? or the Protestants, the Unknown Tongue, or any of the Dissenting creeds, seen wherein they err; since error remains in man till he have outrooted the wrong within himself? Yet they all exist as evidences of error. Schisms are forming and creeds are increasing every day, presuming upon corrections of error; yet error still exists in multiplied forms. The reason is because, as Dr. Bushnell has said, "*No one creed contains the whole truth; therefore, the more creeds the better.*" The increase of creeds does not increase error, but they are multiplied evidence of error. This will have a beneficial tendency, because the more we increase the evidences of error, the more likely are we to remove error itself, when we become constitutionally organized on true righteous principles.

It is the same with individuals as with countries and nations, —the more extended and diversified the knowledge possessed by the mind of man, the more clearly can he see the errors in himself and in humanity generally. But this does not lead to greatness, though it leads to happiness.

The man with one idea, with one ruling passion of pride and ambition, with not a highly-refined sense of feeling for others, is likely to become great in worldly estimation, but not good. Such a man is not in the love of equality, but of inequality; himself he is ever trying to build up higher, even, if needs be, by pulling others down. Yet this is the prevailing feature in our day: in the State, and in commerce, there is afforded ample evidence of the error of the times.

The love of equality is a most essential excellence, not to be attained by usurpation, but by industrious acquirements in mind and body. How frequently is this equality of blessings denounced, because not understood! Although the love of becoming great is infinitely more dangerous; yet, very few object to it.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

## JULIUS CÆSAR'S CHARACTER CONSIDERED.

IN the commonwealth of Rome there was a time during which there was a constant attempt to establish equality, during which Rome prospered, and made many salutary efforts to uphold equality of privileges; and but for the love of becoming great, they might have established commonwealths all over the world, as known by them. But for proud ambition, which centred itself in such men as Pompey and Caius Julius Cæsar, Antony, and Octavius, who had not this highly-refined feeling of regard for others. They sought to be great, and to be accounted good only as do some in this day, when, by assuming the good as a cover, they can build up their greatness.

Historians are not unmindful of this fact. In Adam Ferguson's "History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic," vol. ii., p. 496, he says, speaking of Julius Cæsar, after the vain titles and honours which he attained, and which he had extorted by force, by slaughter, murder, and plunder:—"Insensible to the honour of being deemed equal in rank to Cato and Catullus, Hortensius and Cicero, and equal in reputation to Sylla, to Fabius, and to the Scipios, he preferred being a superior among profligate men, the leader among soldiers of fortune; and to procure by force from his fellow-citizens a deference which his wonderful abilities must of themselves have made unavoidable, and, *still more, had he possessed the magnanimity to despise it.*"

Insensible to the happiness resulting from the esteem of excellent men, the friendship of true men, and the best of his fellow-citizens—indifferent to an equality of enjoyment—he discovered to the world a presumptuous eagerness to disregard the estimation of good and wise citizens of the Commonwealth; and, demon-like, allowed a proud ambition to spread itself over all his projects. Though during his dictatorship he pardoned



many who were in defensive arms against him, and Antony boasted of his clemency in victory, Brutus enumerated the distresses which Cæsar had inflicted upon the Commonwealth during his career—"a period during which the best blood of the Republic," he said, "was continually being shed in Spain, Macedonia, and in Africa, to gratify the ambition, or *vanity*, of a single man." Worse than Sylla, who, "after having gratified his revenge against many who no doubt were his enemies, and at the same time were enemies of the public, at last restored peace to the Commonwealth, Cæsar, without any pretence besides the gratification of his own ambition, continued in the city and in the provinces to usurp all the powers of the empire." He carried his demoniacal love of greatness only, to such infernal excesses, that he spared not men nor treasure; but soiled his fingers, by plundering the treasury, and dipping them in the blood of his fellow-citizens. He made those who should have been the upholders of integrity the mere tools of his infamy—the magistrates became his creatures, to be placed or displaced at his pleasure. He even caused himself to be set at the head of the priesthood; so that, at the time he was robbing the treasury, he was making himself a priest; and then, as if to afford to the world further evidence of his infernal disposition, he caused his person to be declared sacred.

Such a man, who had sacrificed everything that stood in the way of his vain desires to possess the bauble of a crown—to build up himself at the entire nation's sacrifice—might well deserve the retribution that soon attended his treachery to the Commonwealth. Let Cæsar's death be a warning to all who aspire to greatness without commensurate *good motives*. Good professions are too often mistaken for good motives. Let every man henceforth incessantly question his motive.

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## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

EXCELLENCE OF SENTIMENT OFTEN GIVES WAY TO THE LOVE  
OF GREATNESS.

LET not love of greatness enter man's breast. Thus should we avoid a life of vain turmoil and anxiety, and become better members of society, better citizens, and better parents. Excuses creep into men's motives, and too often justify them to themselves by a semblance of virtue—excusing the bad act for the object in view, which is often only selfish. Self-aggrandizement is the primary mover to action in this era of the world, as it was in the time of Cæsar, Antony, and Octavius.

I fear the progress of the world in goodness is hardly perceptible. When we look at the way in which nations and people are constituted, they seem often to have degenerated. In the early part of the Roman republic, excellent men gave utterance to motives, and marked out a line of action not inferior to ours, when speaking of objects of warfare. The manners and fortunes of the early Romans were a perfect contrast to those of the enemy, which gave them an excuse for what they fancied honourable warfare. They ceased to call the vanquished “conquered” subjects, but gave them the softer name of “allies,” by which they brought many kingdoms into a state of willing dependence. Among the Romans, then, riches were of no account in constituting rank:—“Men became eminent by rendering signal services to their country, not by accumulating wealth. Persons of the first distinction subsisted in the capacity of husbandmen by their own labour, and, remaining in the condition of peasants, were nevertheless employed in the first offices of the State.”\*

What shall we say now of the progress made since that state of unostentatious life, which so forcibly recommends itself to

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\* Ferguson's “Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic,” vol. i. p. 92.

our admiration? What a contrast to the usurpations of vanity and pride which soon after characterized the destroyers of this beautiful Commonwealth! These proud and selfish conquerors soon not only destroyed all the bright gems of modest virtue that adorned the constitution of the Commonwealth, but they soon learnt to destroy the men who wished to uphold the integrity of the State. Iniquity so progressed, that it became a crime to be virtuous. A demon like Caesar could drive a philosopher like Cato from the Senate into hopeless and self-destroying despair; a demon like him could proscribe and murder the best men in Rome, while the worst only were permitted to live. So could another fiend, Antony, sacrifice his uncle, Lucius Caesar, to the resentment of Octavius. Here were three demons proscribing men who were too good for their ambitious designs—Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus: the first sacrificed his uncle; the second, Octavius, sacrificed Cicero, in his noble, wise, and virtuous old age—Toranius, and also his own guardian; the third, Lepidus, gave up his own brother, L. Paulus. These three fiends agreed to massacre every person supposed to be attached to the republican government, amounting in all to *three hundred* senators, and *two thousand* of the Equestrian order, besides many persons of inferior note. They ordained, too, that this execution should begin without any warning by the murder of twelve, or, as some say, seventeen of their most considerable enemies, and among these was included Marcus Tullius Cicero.\*

These three men, possessing no self-denying qualities to recommend them to their country, yet formed the Second Triumvirate.

Lepidus, noted for his want of capacity, built himself up by perfidy, by prostituting the dignity of his rank—by abetting the violence which was done to the constitution, was entrusted with power and the command of the army.

Antony, a profligate, and, like Caesar, seeking to repair by rapine a patrimony which he had wasted in debauch, he could

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\* Ferguson's "Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic," vol. iii p. 56.

rouse himself when pressed by necessity, yet ever relapsing into ease or relaxation, into the vilest debauchery and dissipation.

Octavius, yet a boy, known chiefly by acts of perfidy and cunning above his years, had already, in the transactions of his life up to the twentieth year of his age, given indications of the vilest qualities incidental to human nature—perfidy, cowardice, and cruelty; but with ability or cunning which, if suffered to continue its operations, was likely to prevail in the contest for superiority with his present or any future rivals in the empire.\*

Such, we know, are the specimens of human beings that had parcelled among themselves the government of the world. Such a state of degradation had the citizens of Rome fallen into just prior to the advent of Jesus Christ; certainly “the most gloomy prospect that ever presented itself to mankind. Persons apparently incapable of any noble or generous purpose, coveting power as a licence to crimes, supported by bands of unprincipled villains, were now ready to seize and to distribute into lots among themselves all the dignities of the state, and all the patrimony of its members.”

The sequel of this massacre is too horrible to relate. Let those read it who wish to know it, and then find a milder term than “demons” for the perpetrators of such crimes, under pretence of governing for the public good.

Such was the state of human degeneracy when the Bringer of peace and goodwill heralded a new dispensation—when a new Light of wisdom and justice, love and mercy, was diffused on earth. How much it was needed will be seen in the gloomy prospects of Rome in that dark day of guilt and crime; the terrors of massacres done and ever-impending murder presenting themselves to the best of the citizens of Rome.

After this horrid slaughter, and the destruction of all Octavius’s enemies first, then his friends and accomplices became objects of his hatred; even Antony, his partner in the empire and in crime, became an obstacle to his ascendancy, and Octa-

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\* Ferguson’s “Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic,” vol. iii. p. 58.



vi<sup>us</sup> pursued him as he would an animal, until death ridded him of both Antony and his pursuit; thus terminating a criminal intercourse that men in power exercised with impunity, but to the disgrace of the country.

I know of no period when crime was more rife than during the century in which these men lived. The Commonwealth once destroyed, Rome returned to disorder and crime, which soon weakened and lessened its dominion over the world. The love of greatness, at the expense of virtuous sentiment, lost Rome its mighty empire, and laid it in ruins.

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## CHAPTER LXXIX.

### THE GREAT IS REPLACING THE GOOD IN OUR DAY.

It was at this juncture Omniscience saw it was the time to impose a fresh check to crime, and sought to bring men more strongly back to First Principles, in order that they might establish an elementary law, by which to restore the earth and give new motives to action. Can we be astonished that such was generally rejected by men, the sons of iniquity, with demons at the head of government? Where corruption reigned, such purity as was promulgated by the Elementalizer of man, in the person of Christ, was not likely to be received. Impurity must be cast out before goodness can enter.

This casting out of the abominations of the earth has been a long work—has taken thousands of years already, and is so far distant from extirpation, that wherever man is, iniquity abounds, assuming only some variation in form and appearance.

I fear the very day in which we live affords ample evidence of error still abiding, and even cruelty, amongst the governors of Europe, without travelling into India and instancing Oude as a country of extortion, the garbled exaggerations of which deserve credence only as we are certain they are not partial.

King Ferdinand of Naples does not stand alone, in this our day, in his atrocious cruelties. They are paralleled by those of Austria and France, in this nineteenth century. The dungeons of Naples, the cells of Monte Sarchio are by no means worse than the pestilential swamps of French Guiana, that "island of despair" to which the French are banished, to spend their lives in compulsory labour for eight hours under a tropical sun, amidst miasmas and decomposing vegetation that render every passing breeze poisonous and deadly. The condition of the French exiles of Cayenne is worse than the foulest slavery, exposed to all the brutalities of heartless taskmasters. Condemn without trial, did Octavius and Tiberius nearly two thousand years ago ; so does Louis Napoleon condemn, without semblance of trial educated men, artists, tradesmen, barristers, physicians, farmers, journalists and scholars. They are exposed to brutalities more intolerable than death itself : and for what ? Not for their crimes, but, like as it was with the Roman tyrants, for their virtues are they thus punished. They were standing up on behalf of "law and order," and although not successful, could not, under the most strained interpretation of existing affairs, be regarded as criminals. Montalembert has awakened Louis Napoleon to assume a semblance of trial.

It is creditable to England that expositions of these facts appear in our papers. The *Sun* fearlessly chronicles the whole details of imperial infamy, and thus it is wafted throughout Europe. Alexander and Francis Joseph, and even Bomba himself, may boast of their comparative leniency. What are the horrors of Siberia to those of Cayenne ?

But the other day we had to record the atrocity of a savage murder, of Ciccerachio and his sons and companions. Says the *Sun* of the 27th August, 1856 : "Roman citizens ; the sons, one nineteen, the other but thirteen years of age. Thus the subordinates of Francis Joseph had the malignity and the cruelty to butcher such inoffensive youths for no crime. Ugo Bassi had the skin peeled off his head and fingers. The genius of Shakspeare or of Dante could hardly invent execrations befitting this deed of a Hapsburg."

Such cruelties are taking place now, and surely these horrid tortures are so many proofs of the reign of darkness, the reign of error, the reign of the sons of Erebus. Hell riots yet on earth, rampant, in the infamies of greatness and power. Power is in the hands of demons of darkness, and there remains to inflict torments on the good and innocent. It certainly the sooner sends them to heaven, which peradventure these tyrants did not intend.

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## CHAPTER LXXX.

ALL THIS DEPRAVITY EXISTS, BECAUSE RULERS TAKE NOT THEIR INSTRUCTIONS FROM DIVINE MAXIMS, SUCH AS SPIRITUAL LOVE, WHICH IS SUCH THAT IT WISHES TO GIVE WHAT IT HAS TO ANOTHER.

WHY is all this permitted still to continue? It would appear that sin and cruelty prospered more than mercy and kindness; and so they do, in earth's transactions, often. But is there not a use in all this? There must be; or why is it permitted? It is highly important that the faculties of liberty and rationality should not be under constraint in all things, and thus when (in the exercise of power, or the true character would not develop itself) men make themselves devils or angels on earth; and while they are exercising these cruelties, they are certainly making themselves members of hell. They thus bring out their true character, and acquire the indelible mark of sin on their brows that will remain with them to eternity.

But for the good and innocent they would not have had their trial, and the evil nature lurking within would have remained latent, neither expelled nor developed. The true character of man must be made up by trials and temptations. The good suffer trials from the evil, and the evil from temptations of the good. If sin and cruelty prosper on earth, it indicates the prevalence for a time of evil passions on earth. This temporary prosperity

when obtained by infamy and cruelty, is procuring for themselves *an eternity of woe* ; while their innocent victims are enduring for a time the tribulation of earth : but *by it they are purified and acquire heaven and its eternity of progressive happiness, which was the object of man's creation*. Swedenborg says, in his "Angelic Wisdom," concerning Divine providence, pp. 22—25 :—"The conjunction of good and truth in others, is provided for of the Lord by purification, which is effected in two ways—in one by temptation, and in the other by fermentations. *Spiritual temptations* are no other than combats against evils and falsities, which are exhaled from hell ; by them man is purified from evils and falsities, and in him good is joined to truth, and truth to good."

Spiritual fermentations are to be illustrated by chemistry and its resemblances to the amalgamations of good. The appropriations of good can only be effected by the expulsion of evil and falsities. This expulsion can take place by action or fermentation, by which the heterogeneous is thrown off and separated, and the homogeneous retained, appropriated, or conjoined, analogous to combination.

Hence the process of the purification of man is to be taught by science ; and chemistry beautifully illustrates the mode of action. The cause is to be traced to the elementary influence operating upon all creation, spiritual, animal, and mineral.

Swedenborg, in the same paragraph, says,—

"Spiritual fermentations are effected many ways, as well in the heavens as in the earth. But in the world it is not known what they are, and how they are effected ; for they are evils and corresponding falsities, which being let in upon societies, act like ferments put into meal and fermentable liquors, by which heterogeneous things are separated, and homogeneous things are conjoined and become pure and clear. This is what is understood by these words of the Lord : 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.'—Matt. xiii. 33 ; Luke xiii. 21.

"These uses are provided by the First Principles from the conjunction of evil and falsity which is in those who are in hell ; for



the kingdom of the good, which is not only over heaven, but also over hell, is a kingdom of uses ; and the providence of the Lord is such that there should not be *any person or anything from and by which use is not performed.*"

Again, in par. 27 :—

"Causality did not create the universe for its own sake, but for the sake of those with whom he will dwell in heaven ; for *spiritual love is such, that it wishes to give what it has to another*, and in proportion as it can do this, it is in its *esse*, in its place, and in its blessedness. This property spiritual love derives from the love divine of the Lord, which possesses it in an infinite degree."\*

Now if kings, sultans, and emperors had the same end and object in view that the First Cause had, *i.e.*, if the sovereign felt as the Creator, that he did not reign for his own sake, but for the sake of those whom he governs, that they shall enjoy earth and heaven ; were the sovereign influenced by spiritual love, so that he wished to give what he had to another and to all others, he would first seek to be just ; he would investigate and purge all the impurities that surround the court and legislature. Fermentation must be permitted in order to remove all that is heterogeneous to the kingdom of uses—all that is not in accordance to that "*which gives of what it has to another.*"

By this means the sovereign would draw all good men unto him, instead of what many are now doing, driving all such away from them.

The fermentation is now going on upon earth, but the appropriations of sovereignty are not those of the virtuous, nor the generous, nor even of the just ; but the reverse of all these. Their surroundings are too often infernal, their tendency is to hell. Their fermentations tend to separate the good, that they themselves may remain in evil and falsity undisturbed. Virtue is yet a crime in the estimation of the autocrat. The courtier and legislator are required to be insensible to virtue, and indifferent to justice, altogether compromising in character

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\* Swedenborg's "Angelic Wisdom," pp. 25-27.

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

HOW IS IT THAT WE PROFESS CHRISTIANITY, AND AT THE SAME TIME SYSTEMATICALLY AVOID THE PRACTICE OF IT, BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE ?

POWER, and power only, is the governor required to maintain, and that even at the expense of all the better qualities of man, the very virtues for which man was created. The opposite mode of proceeding would draw and attract the better spirits round the throne. The present system is to drive them away, ever fearing some disclosure, fearing that others might partake of the loaves and fishes of office and patronage. Why wish to retain a crown, or a place in Parliament, longer than its retention shall benefit a nation ?

Why longer profess Christianity while the practice of it is so systematically avoided by the government ? Christianity is not greediness, but liberality ; not laying hold of all for self, but imparting their own blessings, both of wealth and wisdom, to others. How opposite to everything Christian is our State practice ! It is the pushing and shutting out our neighbour, rather than inviting him and welcoming him to the same privileges of nationality, the same rights to one as to the other.

The hackneyed reply that the labourers are ignorant, can no longer be made, for they are fast becoming more intelligent than the rich, and their honesty will bear comparison with the most wealthy. Is not industry more likely to produce honesty than idleness, which is now so general among the sons of wealth ? Christianity proclaims the right of labour to a voice in the State before base lucre : but we are not Christians, and ought to renounce the name. Our national churches no longer urge justice, but merely the bare walls of doctrine ; fearing to lose their patronage, the clergy preach for their Mammon-loving patron. Our shepherds are gone over to Mammon, and leave the flocks to the wolves that are daily preying on the innocent.

## CHAPTER LXXXII.

LET THE TEST OF ALL GOVERNMENTS BE THEIR AGREEMENT  
WITH CHRISTIANITY.

MEN are zealous enough in pretending to uphold Christianity as Protestants or Dissenters, yet allow the true principle of it to be violated in the State, and do themselves promote grievous wrongs against nationality, and fairness of individual rights. Keep the test before your every act of public life. Ask yourself, how do my political life and practice square with this test? Be Christians, or renounce the name till you learn the practice. Cause men to be more scrupulous in professing, and to stand up more boldly for its practice everywhere, especially in whatsoever constitutes the heads of power.

Some men are virtuous in their own daily private life, and receive the approval of the better part of society, but immediately they apply virtue to their government, in order to test it, they become at once criminal, and are considered conspirators.

*The ingenious arguments to uphold what is.*

To sail smoothly along in life and go with the stream might be agreeable, and it is easy to be satisfied with things half done, with the world as it is, without wishing to improve it. To do this, by some is thought presumptuous, and by others is considered impossible or impracticable.

How ingenious are the arguments of some writers to uphold our present form of government, and to expose the danger of any alteration, however great the improvement must be, simply because they retain the feelings of the old song—

“Touch not a single bough.”

The affections of many enjoying office are wound round this tree of State, and revolt at the axe that would fell its corrupt trunk, or at the pruning-knife that would give a vigorous direction to the remaining branches.

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

## MALTHUS'S ADVOCACY OF POVERTY AS NECESSARY CONSIDERED.

MALTHUS furnishes ample evidence of such *laissez-faire* characters. How cunningly he assumes the air of dispassionate investigation, and denounces the impassioned feelings in those who do not wish to leave everything unimproved. He presumptuously talks of the errors of Mr. Godwin's system of equality, with all the assurance as if he himself was undoubtedly right. He says, "The great error under which Mr. Godwin labours throughout his whole work is, the attributing of almost all the vices and misery that prevail in civil society, to human institutions. Political regulations, and the established administrations of property, are with him (Godwin) the fruitful sources of all evil, the hotbeds of all the crimes that degrade mankind."

Malthus first calls this an error, and then, in the same paragraph, page 20, vol. II., "Malthus on Population," he says, "these causes are light and superficial, in comparison with those deeper-seated causes of evil which result from the laws of nature and the passions of mankind." Now here Malthus admits what he finds fault with, for admitting the cause to be in the passions of mankind and the laws of nature, he admits that these passions in this law of nature mix themselves into the political composition which regulates property in its partial administration of privileges.

Crime can be seen to proceed from such excesses of wealth not purchased by industry, but inherited along with indolence, the concomitant of hereditary wealth. Gambling, betting, hell's debaucheries, and houses expensively infamous, which the rich only can support, prove Godwin's argument to be correct, and only too true to be admitted by the advocates of "*poverty as necessary*," and the upholders of the rich criminals; excesses only necessary to such as view them with eyes like those of Malthus.



In a chapter on the benefits attendant upon a system of equality, Mr. Godwin says: "The spirit of oppression, the spirit of servility, and the spirit of fraud,—these are the immediate growth of the established administration of property." They are alike hostile to intellectual improvement. The other vices of envy, malice, and revenge, are their inseparable companions. In a state of society where men lived in the midst of plenty, and where all shared alike the bounties of nature, these sentiments would inevitably expire. The narrow principle of selfishness would vanish, no man being obliged to guard his little store, or provide with anxiety and pain for his restless wants; each would lose his individual existence in the thought of the general good."

This Malthus calls an "imaginary picture, scarcely a feature near the truth." He says, "man cannot live in the midst of plenty; all cannot share alike the bounties of nature." The infernal spirits say the same.

However near the truth, Godwin may or may not be for earth as it now is established, it is true for earth as it should be, and as Christianity teaches us it is in heaven; which it seems Malthus never thinks worthy to have any copy on earth. The prayer of our church is, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, as it is in the heavens." Now either this prayer is wrong, or Malthus is; for he ridicules systems of equality, always arguing with human reason only, with not even philosophy to lend him a helping hand.

Man, he says, cannot live in the midst of plenty. Why not, Malthus? I say. You mean, surely, man cannot live in the midst of want. Not live in the midst of plenty? There are many that do! Again; he says, "all cannot share alike the bounties of Nature." Why not, if equally prepared? The sun and the rain come equally for all. Were there no established administration of property, every man would be obliged to guard by force his little store.

I have anticipated all this in the former part of this work, when I alluded to the limitation of wealth, which would give rise to re-distribution of wealth, admitting, of course, that all

property must be protected, whether equal or unequal. And this must be done by established administrations, till the world grow less into restless wants, and less into selfishness. This indeed appears to be as far distant as is Malthus's ideal destruction of the earth's welfare by excessive population.

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

CAPITAL EMPLOYED INDUSTRIALLY AND INTELLIGENTLY CONTRIBUTES TOWARDS THE PRODUCTIONS OF THE EARTH, IN A MULTIPLIED FORM AD INFINITUM, PRO RATA WITH THE INCREASE OF POPULATION.

MALTHUS's arguments seem to be in the inverse ratio to truth. So far from agreeing with him, after a most careful perusal and examination of his work, I find him altogether on a wrong principle; his judgment laying hold of nature only for his support, without any notice even of Stoic philosophy, much less of Divine providence.

In contradistinction from Malthus, I find the earth increasing in fertility of vegetable and scientific productions, in equal ratio with the increased fertility of the mind, as capital is industrially employed in useful productions, and not wasted by a quasi-dormant inactivity. The idle and unproductive rich usurer should henceforth be called ignoble. Capital employed in industry will contribute towards the productions of the earth in a multiplied form, *ad infinitum*.

The difficulties rest with the mind, not with the earth. The circumscribed mind of Malthus could not conceive the vastness and expansive availability of the mind and of this globe. Even the seas and oceans are yet, by volcanic action and coral reefs, forming islands and adding to continents. The earth is not fully explored, nor half grown to its dimensions; but enough

has been discovered to know that the mind has remained barren, wild, and savage, the earth also has remained the same ; and Malthus furnishes us with ample examples of the kind in China and elsewhere, from which he might have drawn very different conclusions, in all his statistics on population, the deductions from which enable us to learn that the difficulties of provision have always been imaginary with the ignorant. They had the earth under their feet and elements above in abundance ; they had but to bring out their ingenious conceptions, and the barren parts of the earth would yield their fruit in blessed abundance, and in improved flavour and quality.

*The first means of cultivation are the most difficult to obtain.* The first dawning of light on the mind is the most confounding ; but as man acquires, so he has facilities for greater acquirements, which multiply into themselves, till he only becomes astonished that any difficulty ever existed.

The first means of cultivation are the most difficult ; therefore we have but to give facility to the acquirement of capital to the industrious many, when, with industry of mind and body, the more capital they have, the more they can make. A large farmer in England was relating the circumstance of his spending a thousand pounds in one year on manure, which he declared and proved was the most profitable expenditure he had made on the farm. This any good husbandman can readily conceive. Let capital, then, be attainable by the industrious many, rather than be possessed by the idle and crafty few, and the increased production will multiply into itself beyond the present conception of man, the earth will yield her increase, even in a greater ratio than the increase of the population ; the mind taking the lead, always commensurate with population, the earth will go on yielding her increase, and increase in her dimensions, as long as she rotates on her axis.

Malthus says, "The temptations of evil are too strong for human nature to resist."\* Here, again, he is in direct opposition to Christianity, which says, "Man is not tempted beyond

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\* Vol. ii. page 27.

what he is able to bear." And yet Malthus is ever advocating the necessity of what he calls the goad of anxiety, of pain, of selfishness, and says again, that "the mighty law of self-preservation expels all the softer and more exalted emotions of the soul." As if it must always be so, because it now is so too generally. He argues in the same narrow strain on the goad of anxiety, as he did on the excess of population. The present and the past are his only guides; he had better not have talked about the "severe touch of truth;" for his day was indeed the day of darkness, and his severe touch of truth the perversion of ideas, while he was merging from his gloom.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

### THE ADVANTAGES OF TAXATION, AND THE EVILS OF EXCESSIVE TAXATION, CONSIDERED.

IN page 102 he says: "It is now said that taxation is the sole cause of their distresses, and of the extraordinary stagnation in the demand for labour; yet I feel the firmest conviction that if the whole of the taxes were removed to-morrow, this stagnation, instead of being at an end, would be considerably aggravated." Certainly, if the whole of the taxes were removed *at once*, or, as the author on population says above, "*to-morrow*," derangement in the circulating medium would ensue. But no man would maintain such a flimsy position, as "at once to do away with all taxation;" but to uphold the present enormity by such arguments is equally fallacious. Were the money now collected in taxation gradually diminished to one-half, and that half allowed to remain in industrial hands, they would with the money be able to buy more manure, and thereby increase production—or procure more machinery, thereby giving rise to a greater



diversity of employment. A manufacturer or a farmer with more capital can always produce more, which will give rise to more employment. A merchant can with more capital ship more, by which he can import more foreign produce to supply an increasing demand, by which the foreigner can buy more of us, the architect and builder will have more houses and warehouses to build, the clothiers more clothes to make—all would have more, from more capital left in the hands of the industrious, not taken to the unproductive soldier, the great pensioners and sinecurists—the drones to the hive of industry. How often does the farmer feel that, had he not the fifty pounds to pay for taxes, he could buy manures with the money, which, in twenty years, and less, would become a thousand pounds to him ; during the whole of which time he would be supplying the country with increased produce, and employing more labour. How often does he lament the loss of his money in rates, tithes, and taxes, which would have enabled him to have better cleaned his fields, by which he could afford to employ more hands and pay them better !

Talk no more, O Malthus, about the reduction of taxes aggravating the evil ! Why, heavily taxed as this country is, every employer tries to get twice the work done by one hand, which he would have two to do had he only half the taxes to pay. The industrious are too much goaded, while the receivers of these taxes, for the greater part, especially the high officials, have too little to do, even for their moral good, while the working part of the civil service, who do all the work, have too little pay. Goaded the man of labour too far, I do not consider beneficial nor just. Bodily and mental labour should not endure too long, or the sprightliness of life is gone, and the victim seeks for relief in oblivious drinks.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

## THE EVIL OF THE NATIONAL DEBT CONSIDERED.

AGAIN, in page 105, Book III., Mr. Malthus remarks, that "although the demands of a considerable portion of the community would be increased by the extinction of the national debt, these increased demands would be balanced, and often more than balanced, by the loss of the demand from the fund-holders and the government."

How fallacious is this argument! The loss he alludes to, of "the demand from the fund-holders," is the same as giving others your money to spend in buying goods from you, and then saying you are benefited by the *demand*, which the other, with your money, has made upon your goods. In using such an argument to prove an impossibility, one might as well deny that the whole is greater than a part. This certainly is as futile as to attempt to prove the labouring classes are benefited by the national debt. One might as well assert that money employed by the usurer, which crushes the man of industry who has no other resource, benefits this industrious borrower more than if the capital he required were his own, for which he *has not to pay any interest*, simply because the usurer causes demand by spending the high interest money! Why, the reverse of all this is the case! First of all, the usurer does not spend one quarter, and often not a tenth, of what he makes, but adds to his store, and goes on increasing in riches. Pay attention to the following fact: In proportion as the money lenders increase in riches, so is the *very amount of money withdrawn from industry—withdrawn from the possession of the owners—i. e., working capitalists—and gone into the hands of men who do not work reproductively, but whose business it is to live upon those who do work*. Now, had the industrious borrowers no need of this assistance, but were working with their own capital, the money lender would not be required, and the service he would then be rendering to his country would be

equal to that of picking his own finger nails from morning to night.

I say, then, the national debt is one of the causes of the withdrawal of money from the hands of industry, which could employ that money in a way that would be reproductive. The nation loses this reproduction, and the energies of man are becoming absorbed, day by day, in burdens which are unwholesome and unsound, and this tends to undermine the stamina of the people, and leads to the downfall of this kingdom, as it has always done with all other nations that have suffered such cruel burdens to afflict industry. See Greece, see Assyria, Egypt, and Rome.

Malthus, after all his attempts to justify a national debt, says: "It is by no means intended by these observations to intimate that a national debt may not be so heavy as to be extremely prejudicial to a state." He again has another leaning to my views; but, yet, by some *ignis fatuus*, he dare not give free and open admission to truth. He says, "The division and distribution of property, which are so beneficial when carried to a certain extent, are fatal to production when pushed to extremity."

Now, we know, the little farmers of France afford us examples of this kind. They are poor, and very primitive in their ideas, and were not progressing a few years ago. I should say their capital and their farms were too small to be worked profitably, and pay taxes at all. Certainly, a man can work a farm of three hundred acres better than he can one of fifty acres only, and exercise more economy in time and labour. But Malthus does not seem to have any anxiety about pushing the *accumulations of property* to an extremity, the evils of which, to a nation, I consider to be *more alarming* than any evil that can ensue from a division of property to an extreme. A man is a burden to himself with excessive property and wealth: he cannot enjoy that wealth which he possesses in excess, neither can the needy man of industry enjoy the diminution or privation of the moderate capital which he can scarcely, and perhaps never, acquire, because the *excessively rich have too much*. Great

misery is inflicted, both upon the rich and the poor, by the extremity we have already reached, for want of a law which would give rise, indirectly and gradually, to re-divisions and re-distribution of wealth. There is no difficulty in doing this; it can be accomplished easily enough when the rich once feel that excessive riches are a burden, which cause excessive poverty and sin to abound.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

### THE REMEDY FOR EXCESSIVE WEALTH.

THE only sound and practical mode I can conceive, that can be made available to the present state of the laws of this country, is to limit the possession of wealth to any one individual to £100,000. Having acquired that, a law shall require him to discontinue business, or the further accumulation of wealth for himself. All acquired after that amount is reached shall be divided among his relatives; failing to have which, the amount to belong to the Industrial Fund, which shall have for its object the furnishing of the sober, the needy, honest, and working people, with means of starting in life. This plan, I know, is far too good to be adopted by the rich, who are too much in the love of greatness, and not enough in the love of goodness. While power is so centred in this selfishness, instead of in the generous wisdom and intelligence of the day, this power must be working for evil, and making bad laws to favour themselves, rather than for the national good.

The other plan is nearer the present mode of state operations. "First of all, then, entirely reverse the order of taxation. If you will allow a man to go on increasing in wealth *ad infinitum*, cause him to have to go on paying taxes in an increased ratio. Lessen the burden with small capitalists, reduce it upon commodities most consumed by the small capitalists, and take it



off altogether from commodities which the poor mostly consume. This would soon bring relief to all parties: the rich would find their excessive wealth a greater burthen to them every year. The poor might hope for a less amount of misery, whilst poor-rates would soon become unnecessary. Instead of which, have infirmaries only, and infirm provisions only; no poor-houses, but schools of all denominations that are for learning and working; teaching industrious habits above all things, taking care that every child shall have a trade, or means of living, on leaving the national establishment.

There is no difficulty in the way beyond that of the *selfishness of the men in power*. They may get such men as Malthus, &c., to write them up, and talk the country into submission to what is; but the injustice is the same, and these men have an eternity to encounter, which I hope will teach them better laws than they practise here on this earth.

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

A DIMINUTION OF TAXATION GIVES RISE TO AN INCREASED DEMAND FOR LABOUR. BASE METAL MUST NOT BE REGARDED BEFORE MAN, NOR EVEN PURE METAL.

ADAM SMITH might have found another cause for the cheap and abundant supply of curates besides that which he assigns—viz., the “facilities of their becoming curates from the bounties given to young persons educated for the Church.”

The abundant supply also arises from the boon of loaves and fishes which each one hopes to be favoured with, but which often comes slowly, and, during the delay, an accumulation takes place. The waiting and deferring arise out of the unfair use of the power of appointments. The man of talent must wait till the talentless sons of the rich and influential have first obtained the lucrative appointments. The small fry are afterwards too often tossed to the men of talent.

Malthus says:—"It may be stated to be an absolute impossibility that all the different classes of society should be both well paid and fully employed;" but then he puts in an hypothesis, "if the supply of labour, on the whole, exceed the demand;" but he does not show why labour exceeds the demand, beyond using his hackneyed hobby, "that population is allowed to increase in excess of demand."

Now, the supply of labour would not exceed the demand were capital easily available for the many, the honest, and industrious. But it does exceed the demand when so great a portion of the capital is locked up in the hands of the usurer, who only doles it out in such a way as shall yield him half the profits, and thus takes it from the man who needs the whole, in order that he may employ more hands, and bring up the demand equal to the supply of labour!

All classes of society might be well paid and fully employed, were the inducements of the legislature made to favour industry, and *not excessive wealth without industry*. How can society be now fully paid and employed, while our legislature regards base metal before man?—giving privileges to metal that it withholds from man!

Oh, human legislator, how squares this with thy Divine Master?

Again, we find this more general distribution of wealth is not an impossibility, practically. America furnishes us with ample proof that society can be both well paid and fully employed. Where taxes do not absorb the profits of the employer, he will be sure to use his increased capital by employing more hands, and thus be constantly giving rise to increased demand for that kind of labour which is reproductive;—this is the very kind of labour which, multiplied into itself, will ever produce good pay and full employment.

I am happy to agree with Malthus, that poor-rates give rise to dependence upon others, instead of self-dependence, and hope the time will soon come, when, by reducing taxation on the labouring man's consumption, and placing it upon the rich man's consumption, and by establishing schools for all, and in-

firmeries only for the aged and infirm, the necessity for poor-rates will in this country cease.

I know the old argument—that if taxes are placed on the rich man, he will make labour pay for it, and the burden will ultimately fall on labour; and so it would with our present system of legislation; but all this can be as well provided against as a thief can be punished when caught in the act. Certainly Malthus has an ingenious style of making black appear white. “Prudence in marriage only he considers to be the cause of the American labourer earning a dollar a-day, and the English labourer earning two shillings.” On page 113 he calls it a “monstrous absurdity,” and labours to show that common sense will reject the idea of taxes causing less pay to the English labourer. While his common sense only enables him to assign the cure to be found in the prevention of marriages, which, he says, is “the only moral means of preventing an excess of workmen above the demand.”

I am sorry to notice that Malthus is so careful in screening the rich and powerful, who really can take care of themselves; the only regard he seems to have for the industrious is, that they should not marry.

It is useless to attempt to deny that our English labourer can never approach to the pay of the Americans, nor be relieved, unless those taxes are lessened which bear directly upon him: taking care at the same time that other indirect pressures are not allowed to burden him. If, with taxation, the money price of labour be half that in America, where, comparatively, they are without taxation, how much worse must be the condition of the labourer in England than that of the American, when the English pay for labour goes to buy provisions, the whole of which are taxed, directly or indirectly.

We know that the price for labour ought to rise with taxation, but the evil is, *it does not in England*. Malthus artfully endeavours to remove the cause from the shoulders of Government, and attempts to attribute it to an excess of marriages. This may be ingenious, but certainly it is not truthful, nor just.

*Increase Capital among the Cultivators of Land.*

Travel from John o'Great's house to the Land's End, and you will find that wherever there is poverty, or insufficient capital to carry on a farm, fewer labourers are employed, and reduced wages are given, less crops are obtained, and, altogether, a bad state of things both for man and master. We need not go to Poland, nor to Russia, Siberia, nor European Turkey, for instances of the kind; England and Ireland illustrate the fact, that "where the wages of labour, as estimated in food, are low, and that food is relatively of a very low value, both with regard to domestic and foreign manufactures, the condition of the labouring classes of society must be the worst possible." Now this state of things arises from the want of distribution of capital—all because capital is required to be circulated more among the cultivators of soil, which is the wholesome medium for circulating capital among manufacturers and merchants. As we increase in capital, and it is well circulated by bringing along with it increased produce, thus wholesomely producing increased demand for food and clothes, co-ordinate with an increased supply of food and manufactures, so we maintain a healthy equilibrium and prevent commotions, which otherwise are constantly springing up, both out of excess of demand and excess of supply.

The practice of such a wholesome and evenly-producing power, co-ordinate with demand, is what would save France at the present time from many of its commotions. France has not, till lately, paid much scientific attention to agriculture—much capital has not been circulated among the farmers—so they have not employed much labour, nor paid that labour well; they therefore have not produced much food, nor constantly supplied the market, so as to prevent the convulsions which the demand for money to be paid to foreigners for corn constantly occasions. Had France a home supply of corn, which certainly she ought to have, and could easily obtain, her manufactured goods would be more evenly in demand, and all her hands be



more generally employed. The increased produce of the soil is the real increase of wealth—the solid staple commodity that is ever in demand, and increases uniformly with the increase of population, when restrictions are not laid upon its power of production, by withdrawing its capital away from it, in the way of excessive taxes and tithes, high rates of interest to usurers, heavy valuations, which ought to belong to the landlord, not the tenant—all withdrawing capital from the industrious, to be placed in the hands of the idle youths of *ton*, the unproductive sinecurists, or the bishops. These clog the progress of the circulation of wealth, since they draw it away from where it should be, and hold it fast where it should not be. These, when they die, leave the same state of things behind them, or, perchance, a great deal worse.

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## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

THE REMAINS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM ARE THE OBSTACLE TO AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS. MALTHUS FURTHER CONSIDERED.

MALTHUS is right in his remarks upon the feudal system. He says (Book III., chap. viii., p. 129) :—"In every country of Europe, and in most of its colonies in other parts of the world, formidable obstacles still exist to the employment of capital upon the land, arising from the feudal system." Again he says :—"Commerce and manufactures are necessary to agriculture, but agriculture is still more necessary to commerce and manufactures."

Unfortunately, there is a change going on which removes the property in the soil from the old lord to the old usurer; the latter, while he is amassing an unnatural wealth, is not acquiring a liberal heart. The change of hands is thus not beneficial to the nation. By and by, it will be said, "You were not content

with your old lord ; you have a worse evil coming upon you." Most assuredly this will be a worse evil ; but neither the one nor the other, in its present order of action and influence upon society, is essential to a nation.

The lord, with his exclusive, feudal, partial privileges, is not in a right relation to the nation ; neither is the usurer, with the exclusiveness which wealth brings with it—with the selfishness which is so often the concomitant of wealth obtained by usury. Neither is the one nor the other, in its corrupt power, beneficial to the nation as they now exist. While both the lord and the man of money might live more happily, were they circumscribed by laws that would prevent the hereditary excess of wealth in land, or the burdensome excess of money in such individual ownership, carrying along with it an individual power which is constantly exercising itself to the prejudice of the whole nation. It builds up individual self, instead of carrying out the object of creation, by exercising wealth, either in land or money, so as to promote the welfare of the whole, and not just that of the few.

Regard the injury the country sustains by the remains of the feudal system, in the shape of the laws and customs which prevent the free division and alienation of land, with the same ease as the change of all other property.

Mark well the evil coming upon the country through this law. Since the land cannot have free division, the consequence is frequently that its entail is mortgaged, its reversionary interest sold ; hence the change of hands that ultimately results is becoming a change for the worse, as such mortgages will ultimately leave the property in the hands of usurers and cunning lawyers : to a great extent it is so even now. Instead of which, were the land free for disposal, the industrious, the virtuous, the generous, and the just, might become the purchasers. Power then would not be falling into the hands of those who are not likely to be earnest for national good.

Malthus assigns the cause of our importing foreign corn to arise "from the obstacles which the laws of the country present to the accumulation of capital on land, which do not apply

with equal force to the increasing employment of capital in commerce and manufactures.

“Secondly. From direct and indirect taxation of such a nature as to throw a weight upon the agriculture of a country which is either unequal, or, from peculiar circumstances, can be better borne by commerce and manufactures.

“Thirdly. From want of improved machinery, combined with extensive capital, and every advantageous division of labour.”

In these cases I consider Malthus is right, and he goes far to corroborate my views. Certainly, machinery has progressed in this country, and extensive capital has been realized; but neither the one nor the other has yet greatly extended itself to agriculture, though I am animated by the hope that both are on the move in that direction.

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## CHAPTER XC.

IN PROPORTION TO THE INCREASE OF THE WEALTH OF A NATION THE WAGES OF LABOUR OUGHT TO IMPROVE, WHICH WOULD BE THE CASE, WERE GOVERNMENT BASED UPON FIRST PRINCIPLES.

MALTHUS seems not to have the faculty of understanding any other views of the condition of the poor than his own. Determined to support his great point, he will not understand the logic even of Adam Smith, who solves all his difficulties, and renders very opposite views conclusive to every one else but Malthus and his ecclesiastical partisans. Their interest runs counter to the progressive idea. He says, in page 211, chap. XIII., “On the Increase of Wealth, and as it affects the Condition of the Poor:”—

Adam Smith, in his chapter "On the Wages of Labour," considers every increase in the stock or revenue of society as an increase in the funds for the maintenance of labour; and having laid down that the demand "for those who live by wages can only increase in proportion to the increase of the funds for the payment of wages, the conclusion naturally follows, that every increase of wealth tends to increase the demand for labour, and to improve the condition of the lower classes of society."\*

All sound logicians and philosophers admit that this ought to be the true state of things, except Malthus, who says the wages do not increase with the increase of wealth, and leaves the argument bare and unqualified; and, I am sorry to say, avoids mentioning the true cause, without even an allusion to it. I can hardly think a man who has written so much on the subject, would so seem to shirk the question.

Malthus ought at least to know why the poor do not increase in wages in proportion to the increase of wealth. I have before explained the cause to arise from the burdens which labour has to bear in working two out of the six days in the week for taxation, and for the tithes, &c., of which Malthus was a recipient, and which may give us a clue to the reason why Malthus will not allude to this gigantic cause of difficulty. As unencumbered funds for the maintenance of labour increase, so will the poor be better maintained. But in opposition to this is the extravagance in Government and Church, and the burden of the poor-laws—the necessary consequence of the former two excessive and over-strained pressures.

Another cause is, that the usurer has too frequently the increased capital, not the agriculturist; and before labour can be benefited by the increase, the monster mouth of Usury has to be filled full, and to running over. Lastly only, can labour get its share. Malthus would have us believe this is an advantage, for he has said before that the country is benefited by "two living out of capital instead of one," and yet will not extend his principle further. But I say if, therefore, it be good that one

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\* Vol. I., book i., chap. 8.



more shall benefit by capital being divided, why is the principle not carried out still more, until the many shall benefit by increase of capital, extending it further and further till it reach the poor, where I say, in God's name, it must be most needed. As for the trashy argument that the labourers would not work were they better off—this is now seen to be a fallacy. The lower classes now are educated nearly as well, generally, as the higher, and sometimes they are more learned. Who can say they have not more industry, more energy, and more perseverance? Why, the nineteenth century gives the denial direct to Malthus.

The labourers, one-half of whom are not farming men, but mechanics and artisans of all sorts, require and obtain education for their employments, as much as the lord's son does for the army and the Church. They surround themselves with furniture, comforts, and even elegances, wherever their means enable them to do so, and show not such narrow conceptions as Malthus would make us believe. God created this world as much for them as for the rich, who are proving themselves daily to be more than ever becoming unprofitable stewards.

If Malthus had been honest and bold enough not to attempt to uphold the present state of things, he would talk of prudence, skill, and industry, as being necessary for the higher orders as well as for the lower; but not a word against them does he dare write, nor has he the fairness to hint at the facts which show the true causes of poverty and low wages.

There are so many contradictions in his general observations, that I will not allude to them, but refer the reader to pages 246, 247, 248, and 249.

The true account of the state of things in France is, that they have discovered their error in not cultivating land enough, nor have they done it well enough, to supply the demand of their increasing population; nor have they employed capital enough to extend its produce sufficiently. Louis Napoleon's eyes are now open to that great fact, and in 1855 he held the first great Agricultural Show in Paris, and turned the attention of the country to the importance of culture.

It is not a proof of wisdom to deprecate the increase of labour until first of all it can be said that we have made a right application of labour. Experience now teaches us, that as this is done, the increase of labour is beneficial to the nation as well as to the employed.

As a clergyman, Malthus would be bound to advocate the cause of the needy; but so well has he learnt from whom he receives his earthly appointment, that he often forgets his spiritual vocation. Why does he not show the cause of poverty to originate in the monopolizers of wealth, and the laws which favour the retention of land and money amongst them?

He writes much about the "guardians of British liberty," as if England sprang from a commonwealth at some period before the time of William the Conqueror. There never were guardians of British liberty but in the days of Cromwell; but guardians only of British power! and that power upheld in a state of exclusiveness!

I would ask Malthus, if the mob be the only fear a nation ought to have of any kind of ascendancy? I question whether the power of wealth, without a proper application of it, is not much more threatening to the well-doing of a nation, than any portending danger that would ensue from granting the just demands which industry has a right to make, for the extension of its political privileges!

Malthus could have had but a poor opinion of the success of his Church, for which we *pay so much*, if the *vox populi* always appeared to be "the voice of error and absurdity," instead of the *vox Dei*. I cannot help thinking that Malthus profaned the name of God by mixing up his narrow ideas for the purpose of supplanting those of providential order.

It is truly unfortunate that, till this generation, the principal writers for Government have been those who are in the pay of Government, and who thus seem to be toadying for place, or working for their pension; at least, I can only account for Malthus's frequent want of logic and truth in that way. Although he might imagine himself far above such mean considerations, and to have purer motives for regulating his judgment,

yet the education, the association, and circle—the very atmosphere which he must always have breathed—would, unknown to himself, give him a bias in his judgment which left him far from exercising impartiality.

## CHAPTER XCI.

THE MALTHUSIAN NOTION, THAT THE POOR ARE BETTER OFF WITH HIGH PRICES OF FOOD THAN WITH LOW PRICES, CONTROVERTED.

IN page 330\* Malthus admits what he attempted to deny before. He says:—"The government during the last twenty-five years has shown no very great love either of peace or liberty, and no particular economy in the use of the national resources! but," he continues, "it has proceeded in a very straightforward manner to spend great sums in war, and to raise them by very heavy taxes."

Worse still, he asserts that, in 1814, the "national resources were not dilapidated, and that wealth had increased."

Now I ask any honest man if Malthus ought not to have shown here that the cause of the apparent increase was in the increased circulating medium, which caused the National Debt, that is now crippling the energies of the country? Why does not Malthus mention this gigantic cause? he must have well known the cause, since it was paramount to all other causes. You say "that the wealth was greater." Were not figures multiplied by an inconvertible currency? The nominal amount counted more, but the actual value was lessened up to the full extent of the National Debt, which he has not had the fairness to mention.

Now, I must say, this was not such a trifle that he could overlook it. Eight hundred millions of money was not an insignificant amount, that a writer such as Malthus could have overlooked through inadvertence.

I should prefer giving a liberal construction to this omission, but I cannot make myself believe that it was not intentional.

Malthus's partiality is here so evident that I cannot take much more space to allude to his arguments. He falls so low in my estimation, that I cannot consider him deserving even of a criticism. When he advises the propagation of virtue and happiness to others before that of their species, let him regard the offspring of his profuse brain ; let him notice the multitude of cripples, distortions, deformities, and monsters that have escaped from his unrestricted pen. The passion of toadying to a government, instead of remonstrating with it, was one which Malthus indulged in without restraint.

Malthus, partially, again alludes to the immense sums that have been "lavished on the poor," but says nothing about the much larger sums that have been lavished on the rich and upon the Church !

His very ingenious argument in asserting that the poor are always better off when prices are high than when low, showing that when their habitual food is the lowest in this scale, they appear to be absolutely without resource except in the bark of trees like the poor Swedes, really strains the absurdity beyond all possible credence. Men are not now in that wild state, nor are they likely to retrograde into such a state again, when they have once had the light of civilization spread over them.

There is no necessity for low wages nor common food, were wages allowed to rise *pro rata* with the increase of wealth ; but when, by excessive taxation upon labour, the value of labour is diminished, the suffering first falls upon the poor, afterwards upon wealth, and last of all threatens Government itself, which originated the suffering. High prices will not then avert the danger, but augment it, and protract the suffering, and mortgage future generations for centuries to come ; the experience this



country underwent in 1825, and which has continued up to the present time, has wofully proved this fact.

High prices benefit the usurer, because more money is required, and he can charge a higher rate accordingly. The high price of food does not benefit the labourer without capital, as it does the merchant or the employer with capital. The Government profits and increases its revenue and multiplies useless offices, sinecures, &c.

Had Malthus candidly admitted the only benefit to accrue to government I could have yielded him his side of the question, but by distorting this benefit, and declaring it to extend even to the poor, he declares only the fallacy of his day, and which he promoted largely.

## CHAPTER XCII.

PALEY'S GREAT MISTAKE.—A LABORIOUS, FRUGAL PEOPLE SHOULD BE ADMINISTERING TO THE DEMANDS OF ALL—NOT, AS PALEY WOULD HAVE IT, TO THE “OPULENT AND LUXURIOUS.”

IT is a waste of time to follow in detail all the errors that Malthus fell into; time alone has controverted him and rendered his partiality evident and his crochets a matter of joke. Of course governments and parsons did no wrong in his day, but half a century has thrown a light directly reflecting upon these dark corners, that exposes their partial acts to the glare and the bright intelligence of this day.

I should like to quit Malthus without assailing his very vulnerable points further, but his ungenerous allusions to the discontent of the poor exposes him again, and proves his partiality to those who hold patronage in their hands.

I say, the distresses of the poor are mainly to be attributed

to bad government. Idleness among the higher orders is not a consideration with Malthus; he never takes alarm about that, and yet this is the right starting-point. If the higher orders did their duty properly, this would lead to good results among the middle classes and in the lowest. So far from agreeing with him, that the greatest cause of unhappiness is unconnected with Government, I know that the heart and the head ought to be sound. Convulsions and unhappy emotions ever attend disease in the important and controlling powers.

I am sorry to remark that Malthus exposes an effort, and a persevering one, in his "Population," always to depreciate the character of the industrious, who he denominates "the turbulent middle classes" and "the discontented poor;" but not one word about the turbulent nor indolent rich!

In his attempts to ridicule the schemes of the middle class, he says, "by aiding them in their renovations, one would be probably promoting the ambitious views of others, without in any way benefiting themselves." Again, he says, "A genuine friend of freedom, a zealous advocate for the real rights of man, might be found among the defenders of a considerable degree of tyranny. A cause bad in itself might be supported by the good and the virtuous, merely because that to which it was opposed was much worse." This is still arguing upon patch-work, instead of facing the difficulties, and commencing *de novo*. evincing that, though a clergyman, he has little of the *à priori* philosophy, much less of true theology; no thoughts on first causes and antecedent influences of the perfect, which should give the springs of action, has he. He relies upon the machine without the antitype, or the motive power, instead of the power together with the engine working harmoniously. His constant attempts are to make an addition to a wrong, rather than extirpate it, by that Divine Good which he was paid so much to teach us, but which it appears we must teach him.

Mr. Malthus can remark upon Mr. Owen's plans, and says, "that the order of nature and the lessons of Providence would indeed be in the most marked manner reversed, and the idle and profligate would be placed in a situation which might

justly be the envy of the industrious and virtuous." Here he would foresee what he fancies would be, but overlooks what actually is. Now, the idle and the profligate sons of wealth are placed in this position without Owen's plans ever having been attempted. These idle sons of wealth are now the envy of the industrious and virtuous!

But only so far as they possess pecuniary means can the industrious and virtuous exhibit their scorn of idleness. How strangely Mr. Malthus changes his views and expressions when remarking upon others,—upon Paley, in this instance, while controverting a portion of his "Moral Philosophy." Paley observes "that the condition most favourable to the population of a country, and at the same time to its general happiness, is that of a laborious frugal people ministering to the demands of an opulent luxurious nation." This, I believe, is the sum total of the ideas and wishes of all those who possess wealth. If only Paley had added—and *an opulent and luxurious Church*, he would have conveyed his true views, too, more clearly. Such is what I have long depicted. He seeks to obtain a laborious people that are always willing to work for the indolent sons of wealth.

Now I have much pleasure in placing Malthus's answer to this remark before the reader. He says, "The best, and, in every point of view, the most advantageous manufactures in this country are those which are consumed by the great body of the people." I am too happy to find Malthus thus converted to my views in part at the end of his work, and in his last additions thus express himself:—"The manufactures which are confined exclusively to the rich are not only trivial, on account of the comparative smallness of their quantity, but are further liable to the great disadvantage of producing much occasional misery among those employed in them, from changes of fashion." Better still, he continues: "It is the diffusion of luxury, therefore, *among the mass of the people, and not an excess of it in a few*, that seems to be *most advantageous*, both with regard to national wealth and national happiness. What Paley considers as the true evil and proper danger of

luxury, I should be disposed to consider as its true, good, and peculiar advantage." This is sound argument. I wish almost he had said nothing before, nor would make another remark after. I would leave this with all the force it carries with it, and hope to find nothing that will gainsay this remark.

## CHAPTER XCIII.

THE NECESSITY OF RE-ESTABLISHING THE USURY LAWS NOW  
MADE EVIDENT THROUGH THE INORDINATE RATES OF  
INTEREST OF MONEY, SUPERINDUCED BY THE MONETARY  
PARTY.

AGAIN, Malthus observes rightly, "Our best grounded expectations of an increase in the happiness of the mass of human society are founded in the prospect of an increase in the relative proportions of the middle parts.

But in continuing his remarks, he falls into his old crotchet, and attributes cause to the wrong source; the habits of the poor could never restrict the supplies of labour to a stationary nor to a decreasing demand. Mr. Malthus ought to have been less scrupulous in attributing the cause to where it actually existed. He ought from the first to have fearlessly assailed the rich as he has fearlessly assailed the poor, and have admitted that the cause arose from the power of wealth in legislating selfishly for the retention of that wealth within *their own circle by a few, and carefully shutting out every other consideration* that would have a tendency to subdivide this wealth among the many.

Our laws of primogeniture and hereditary rights still remain to disgrace our legislature. Until the middle of the nineteenth century our stamp duties favoured the owners of money and



dealers in the large amounts. I breathed a warm glow of hope that this fair and just improvement would have extended further; but the years 1855 and 1856 present no prospect of progress in that direction. Usury of the worst description is recognized by law, the national bank charging 7 and 8 per cent., while other houses have been charging 8, 9, and 10 per cent., and yet no alarm notwithstanding. This state of things, however, has only to be continued long enough,—*i.e.*, the bankers, usurers, and Jews have only to continue gaining more money by lending it at higher interest than manufacturers and merchants gain in commerce, and the money of the country will soon be found to have passed from the trader to the usurer: than which worse consequences have never yet been seen to result from bad legislation.

The cause, then, lies not in the poor restricting their supply of labour, but in the rich restricting their supply of wealth to a higher rate of interest than industry can pay. Also to the exclusive appropriations of it among themselves; not in this case by the same means as our old lords adopted, by way of primogeniture and entail, but the power of wealth changing hands from the lord to the usurer: the latter finding entail and primogeniture not their kind of exclusive protection, obtained, rather forced, the abolition of the usury laws, which was their kind of exclusive prerogative,—the result of wealth falling into the hands of selfish men.

The consequence of the whole of which is that wealth is changing hands but not getting better distributed. England is changing the nobility for landlords, who became too indolent to protect the people, for whom they ought to have lived, and at last too indolent to protect themselves, and they fall a prey to the sordid usurer, and find their exclusive idol—primogeniture—will not save them.

These are the causes of distress,—an undivided attention and regard to the retention of property and wealth among themselves, influencing the legislature. They make laws in their own favour only, which will ever add to distress where

ever and in whatever country it is adopted, more especially in a country indebted to money lenders as England is.

Had Malthus attempted to write down the natural tyrannizing tendency that ever attends the possession of wealth in excess, instead of writing down the increase of the industrious population, which in a well organized country is ever a source of wealth, and in a well distributed apportionment of it is always found to promote happiness, he would have rendered a real service to his country. It affords me much pleasure to find that he manifests more logic in the conclusion of his work on Population than in its previous portions. I certainly should like to believe, that, had he not been so connected with a prejudiced circle, he would have written himself right.

He says:—"At some future period the processes for abridging human labour, the progress of which has of late years been so rapid, might ultimately supply all the wants of the most wealthy society with less personal effort than at present; and if they did not diminish the severity of individual exertion, might, at least, diminish the number of those employed in severe toil."

Here the hope of Malthus is my hope,—that the severity of individual exertions may be less severe among the sons of poverty. But, alas! I know too well this can never be but by subdued desires among the sons of wealth. The great evil lies in their lust for power, in order to be great rather than good.

Let the wealthy first learn to supply the wants of the industrious—not by poor-laws, nor by eleemosynary acts of charity, but by fair, impartial, and just laws, that shall not favour themselves more than they favour the industrious.

Let them learn not to confer by patronage that which they first wrung from the poor, by acts which power alone without virtue could frame into acts of parliament, and make legal only by force, not by truth nor honesty of purpose. The industrious of England are not the menials that ask for gifts from those who have withheld from them their rights as citizens of the world. The mind and thoughts of industry are not the narrow and

coloured characters which characterize the fears and timidity that attend inherited wealth, which take fright at every expression of truth that threatens unjust acquisitions. Armed with virtue and the peace of rectitude, they ask quietly to have their interests regarded, and their names fairly registered in an extended suffrage, by which they may be heard, and their intelligence appreciated and made known.

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## CHAPTER XCIV.

THE CAUSE WHY EVILS PERPETUATED ARE CONSIDERED NECESSARY TO A STATE.—DR. OLIVER GOLDSMITH CONSIDERED.

It is to be recollected that the popular authors of the eighteenth century had received an early bias in their education, which always bent their minds to regard what was, as that which not only ought to have been, but ought to be. Literature was almost exclusively confined to the sons of those who were, or sought to be, in power. There was little chance for an author that came not out of a college. This hotbed of *sarants* always carried with them a certain *odeur*, which partook of the warm atmosphere that nurtured their tender growth. They cherished this congenial luxury in all their after-life. Somehow they seemed to have learned that luxuries for the few can only be enjoyed under a despotic form of government, and even excellent men forgot to reflect that these luxuries for them, when carried to the excesses which characterized their day, were only purchased at the expense of a proportionate misery falling upon the many. All writings partaking largely of this particular tinge had a tendency to perpetuate always what was, rather than seek to improve; simply, but truly, because political improvement could not be attended with any benefit to themselves

directly. I regret to find even excellent men so partial in their judgment in that day, and there is but little progress towards an alteration in this our day. As the monks and friars of old were once the only learned men, so their tendency was ever to add new links to their spiritual, temporal, and moral chain, which bound the country to support them even to an excess of wealth which threatened their own ruin. So has the Church ever encroached upon the innocent poor whenever they could enforce their power with impunity to themselves, till the burdened son of toil cries aloud for a voice in the State, that he may have that justice done to all, which the college men will never provide for them. Even such an excellent character as Dr. Oliver Goldsmith was not exempt from this shade of political bias. Even the general tone of good-nature, and the sound heart which characterized that excellent man, could not throw off altogether the warping influence which his college life held over him.

When he makes the good old Vicar of Wakefield advocate the "necessity of one king to rule the many tyrants," and he calls it "the election of one tyrant to avoid the evils of the many," we find him clinging to the popular error, that one evil is necessary because another exists: as if, because evils are, evils must ever be perpetuated.

Although a clergyman, the good old vicar is made to uphold the perpetuation of tyranny as necessary, forgetting his sacred record that God Himself had denounced the necessity of a king to the people of Israel, whom Samuel had ruled in honesty of purpose and integrity of manner. But when they said unto Samuel, "Give us a king;" God said, "They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me, that I should not reign over them." (1 Sam. viii. 7.) God also told them the manner of king they would have: that he would "take their sons and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some should run before his chariots." God said also, "And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the best of



them, and give them to his servants." And much more injustice does God foretell them the king will inflict upon them, till he adds, "Ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; *and the Lord will not hear you in that day.*" But we read that Israel would have a king, and chose to be governed by man rather than by God; hence God said, "Ye have rejected Me." Dr. Goldsmith must have forgotten this history of the origin of kings, or the good old vicar would have been made to say, "Let men return to their God, not to their tyrant, to save them." Get back to *First Principles*, call upon the Good and the True, the Virtuous and Wise, to save; not upon the sordid, selfish, and tyrannical. In short, call upon God, not upon the devils, to save you.

England is blessed with a good queen in our gracious Victoria; but her ministers are twelve kings ruling over her, departing from the good and the true, having long ceased to notice *First Principles*—THE VERY STANDARD OF ORDERLY RULE.

Is not the day come upon England, as well as upon Israel, when the Lord will not hear those who choose man to rule over them rather than God? Was England ever more oppressed by unjust men *knowingly* than at the present, when laws and taxes are made to favour the rich, and cruelly burden the poor and industrious? Witness the income-tax of 1856 *versus* property-tax.

The poor old vicar should not have been made to say "the rich are *ordained* to marry the rich:" but wisely afterwards does he say, "In the middle order of mankind are generally to be found all the arts, wisdom, and virtues of society." But he shows his gown when he says, "This order alone is known to be the true preserver of freedom, and may be called the people." They should preserve the just equilibrium of the nation; but while patronage exists, that will ever be the paramount influence upon the middle order. While patronage rests in the hands of Government, there will ever be toadies to the corruption of the Court, extending itself throughout all society, to the contamination of all under them; for the evils and sins of a nation commence with the higher orders of society—thence they flow

to the middle class, thence to the lower orders of society. So ought the good and the true so to descend from them. Were the higher classes in right relation to love and wisdom, they would still be mediums for Divine communication to man. But, alas ! they have turned the temple of God and the temple of State into receptacles for money-changers, and a den of thieves.

The popular writers of the eighteenth century found it to answer their purpose to denounce the lovers of justice, and call them champions for anarchy, associating them with tyrants, instead of just men in search of fair play. The vicar, after attesting his willingness to die for his "Anointed Sovereignty," says, "I have known many of those pretended champions for liberty in my time, yet do I not remember one that was not, in his heart and in his family, a tyrant."

Now, this is not saying much, although it is said very emphatically ; for he could have said, the rich also are practical tyrants *de jure et de facto*. He could have found also tyrants among the rich, who never talk of liberty at all ; so that the advocacy or non-advocacy of liberty does not make the tyrant. The tyranny was long before the liberty he repudiated. But, like Malthus in the conclusion of his work, he discovers the errors of governments, and gainsays his sentimental, lofty, "anointed monarchy." He says, "Government, while it grows older, seems to acquire the moroseness of age." Also, "That the multitude of laws produces new vices, and new vices call for fresh restraints." At last, himself wearied by the oppressions of his unprincipled, wealthy pursuer, he hopes the time will shortly come when we shall cease from our toil—"when the luxurious great ones of the world shall no more tread us to the earth."

The vast amount of good in that standard work will find a ready excuse for the gown, when it happens to peep out. I, for one, thank Dr. Goldsmith for such a production.

There is a hopeful feature in the statistics published in 1855, upon the church accommodation provided by the several religious denominations in England. To find that the progressive and voluntary churches have exceeded in number the Church

of England by thousands—by 4808 places of worship—this is sufficient to convince any reflecting mind that there is a great movement taking place, wherein the expansive idea is to be developed, that the system of crippling, narrowing, and cramping the minds of men by the Protestant Church's Thirty-nine Articles, will not be permitted to succeed. It shows, beyond all controversy, that the mind will expand and be free, notwithstanding the great priestly power that stands obstructing thought and freedom of sentiment. I furnish particulars of the religious denominations :—

	No. of Places of Worship.	Sittings for
Church of England . . . .	14,077 ...	5,317,916
Scottish Presbyterians :		
Church of Scotland . . . .	18 ...	13,989
United Presbyterian. . . .	66 ...	31,351
Presbyterian Church in England	76 ...	41,552
Independents . . . . .	3,224 ...	1,067,760
Baptists (all denominations of) .	3,789 ...	752,253
Society of Friends . . . . .	331 ...	91,599
Unitarians . . . . .	229 ...	68,554
Moravians . . . . .	32 ...	9,305
Wesleyan Methodists (Original } connection). . . . . }	6,596 ...	1,447,580
New connection . . . . .	297 ...	26,264
Primitive Methodists . . . . .	2,871 ...	414,030
Independent ditto . . . . .	20 ...	2,263
Bible Christians . . . . .	482 ...	66,834
Lutherans . . . . .	6 ...	2,606
Roman Catholics . . . . .	570 ...	186,111
Greek Church . . . . .	3 ...	291
Jews . . . . .	53 ...	8,438
Latter Day Saints . . . . .	222 ...	30,783
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	18,885	4,300,263
	<hr/>	<hr/>
New Church . . . . .	70	

What claim has the Church of England to receive protection more than any other Church—that tithes should be given to

them alone?—since so great a change has come over Great Britain, that one-half of her population are dissenting religions, that half has as great a moral claim to the tithe money as have the Episcopalians. What good can we recount of any State church? It is always made a tool to the upholding of despotism. When does it ever take the side of the people or the poor? What was its peculiar characteristic in the time of Henry VIII.? Why, after receiving the tithe, for the express purpose of “upholding the honour of God, and in support of the [*His*] poor,” by the statute of Carlisle, Edw. I., A. D. 1306. When these institutions were suppressed, and the property distributed among their “antechamber” courtiers, the king and the priests at once deprived the helpless and indigent, the aged and the young, of all these provisions”\* for their support. Does that act recommend these state priests to our special protection, since they did not forget to retain the tithes for the upholding the honour of God and in support of His poor? How was that carried out, when the poor were punished for no other crime than having become robbed by the State Church? Yea, God’s poor were punished by “whipping, by the stocks, and even the pillory, and imprisonment.” But, not content with this—oh! horrid to relate—in the last years of Henry VIII.’s reign, no fewer than 38,000 were actually put to death,”† for no crime but because they had been plundered by the king and Church, and by them made poor.

This is a similar injustice to that of the aristocracy having received the grants of land upon military tenure, without retaining the *tenure* upon which the grants were made; like the priests retained the tithe, they retained their land, but throw off the army to be maintained, by the poor and mercantile people, by way of Excise and Customs.

Evils perpetuated are considered necessary only by those who wish to perpetuate their fancied interest at any cost to others, by those who have the power to remove them, but not the dis-

\* “How we are Governed,” &c., by Albany Fonblanque, p. 74.

† Fonblanque, p. 74.



position, and by the confusion that is purposely thrown upon the attempts of honest men to restore their country to order. Perpetuated evils are no more essential to a nation, than they are to heaven ; but as long as the selfishness of the great and luxurious few retain their exclusive power, so long will the dominion of iniquity mar all progress. The remedies are at hand : the means by which our country can be relieved are simple, and only require the will of man to be in co-operation with the *Divine will*, and the work is soon accomplished. Allow the elementary law to operate unrestrictedly upon ourselves, without self barring the way against its reception. The means will then open up, the difficulties will one by one disappear, the cold rocks of obstruction will gradually dissolve, the rough places will be made smooth and the crooked be made straight ; for God, even our God, will be in the midst of us again to establish laws based upon *First Principles*.

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## CHAPTER XCV.

### UNPRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY IS A LOSS TO A NATION.

A PROPER direction of labour is the most important of all governmental considerations, because industry, intelligently pursued, is more reproductive than when ignorantly or wrongly pursued. This is the case individually, but how much more forcibly does it apply when nationally considered.

A family, all the individuals of which are industriously and ingeniously employed, is adding more to its worth daily than one of which the half only is industrious while the other half is consuming the fruits of the family toil. This half may be said to cause the other half to be more anxiously applicative ; but it is a farce to call it just, or to say as much will be earned for

themselves as if the whole of the family were productively employed.

All may be diversely employed and yet their labour be reproductive. Some kind of useful employment is necessary for all, in order to the increase of individual and national wealth. This is seen to be the case more forcibly in a family where some of the members are found afflicted in their limbs or bodies, so as not to be able to labour and throw in their earnings for the general support; this is well known to be a burden upon the whole. Or when one or more are idle and extravagant, and will not work, but doggedly waste and spend the general store of the family; this is well known to inflict greater hardships upon the remainder of the family that are industrious. Also, when some of the family employ themselves in levying contributions on the other part of the family, extorting from them a per-centage of all their earnings in detail, employing their time in keeping useless watch over things, and an account on everything the rest eat, drink, and sleep upon, walk upon, work upon, and look upon, instead of economizing time and labour, by summing up totals of the yearly results, and thus receive even the same amount directly, and in one payment, instead of through a thousand payments, which have required much time and many hands to collect. This said levier of contributions may just as well work with his brothers; his industry would then be productive instead of unproductive, and the whole family be benefited to the extent of his industry.

This same rule applies to a nation. When a great portion of a nation is unproductively employed in watching, guarding, and collecting customs, excise, stamps, rates, and taxes,—loss of time in assessing, enumerating, classifying, multiplying offices, and departments, “circumlocutory offices,” dividing and subdividing small amounts of detail and retail quantities, the total result is immense loss. As well might the nation travel a circuitous route of one hundred miles when one would bring it to the given point, as to have the indirect mode of taxation we have, instead of a direct property and income-tax. An

enormous saving to the country would accrue if we had one assessment to include the whole demand for taxation and rates in one collection, and at one time, or twice in the year, retaining spirit duties only. Then could the *employés* of custom, excise, and stamp offices be appointed to some productive occupation, which would be equally remunerative to themselves and would add to the general wealth of the country. All would then, while pursuing individual interests, be adding to the wealth in common ; making up the sum total of national wealth, which as it increased would lessen the demand individually on the general purse.

No tax would remove the existence of evils and abuses that had not especial regard to the possessors of excessive wealth. It should no longer be ignored that excessive wealth is a burden to the owners, and a toil that leaves little leisure for literary attainments or even rational reflections. The object for which we labour in acquiring sufficient wealth is destroyed when the wealth becomes excessive, and thus a burden. This is especially the case when money is sought for through commerce : anxieties are increased with the additional millions, till at last greyheaded helplessness, tottering on until the mind is impaired, if not insane altogether (too many instances of which are to be found in the City of London), terminates in misery a life spent in money-making drudgery, and ends in a body destroyed, and a soul contaminated by an incessant thirst for lucre.\* To repress this evil, I would place upon wealth the whole taxation of the State. The tax should be laid on property alone, and in a ratio increasing according to its abundance. Let all amounts above £20,000 or £100,000 be considered excessive, and have the tax laid upon them heavily, and be scrupulously collected.

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\* Instance Mr. Growcock's hanging himself ; Mr. Morrison and many other millionaires fancying themselves paupers ; the late Mr. Rothschild's fearing the approach of his clerks, fancying they would shoot him.

## CHAPTER XCVI.

## WHY DOES NOT GOVERNMENT EMPLOY DIRECT TAXATION?

THE answers are, first, because there are so many idle brothers and their families that have lived so long on the taxes upon industry, that they now consider they have a right to be sinecurists.

Also these men have power, a voice, an interest in upholding and perpetuating the present system, and they become stanch advocates of corrupt governments. They can always be relied upon in case of emergency, because their interests are identified with the abuses of Government. Direct taxation would destroy that kind of patronage which leaves them in the retention of idle offices, and excludes meritorious competition, for the most part, in the other offices.

Direct taxation, in the form of property and income-tax only, would offend the landed aristocracy and the millionaires, that have now carefully evaded their proper and proportionate shares, and made the tax bear more heavily on the smaller amounts which industry or mere competence furnishes. They have ingeniously relieved themselves—in some cases wholly, and in others partially—from their fair share of the burden. See the industrial income of £100, which ought to be considered a necessity of existence, yearly acquired by labour, paying the same as interest actually obtained from wealth, or from inheritance, or otherwise acquired capital. In plainer language, the poor man's necessity of life is taxed, while the rich man's interest only is taxed.

A well regulated tax, applied directly upon all property—especially, and increasing proportionately, upon the large amounts, in exactly the same ratio—would be establishing a fair and equitable apportionment upon the richer orders, and set thousands of idle hands free. But the rich would oppose such a measure from selfishness, not from the principle of fairness.



## CHAPTER XCVII.

## PALEY CONSIDERED.

I do not find that Wm. Paley, D.D., has invalidated inexclusive legislation, in his treatise upon property, though he has afterwards done so in his treatise on "Reasons for Contentment." His deduction on the Divine intention, "That nothing ought to be made exclusive property which can be conveniently enjoyed in common," will admit of corroboration, rather than the extenuation to which his after observations lead. In the first place, because "it increases the produce of the earth;" it does not discourage the re-distribution of property up to a certain limit, avoiding the extreme divisibility that would render it useless.

The great fact is this, that the property that is, must remain as it is, in possession of its respective and rightful owners, held under past and present convention and compact; but the future may be dealt with differently, without any infraction. Laws can be made to have tendencies towards the redistribution of property, in keeping with the love-neighbour=First Principle of action,—or the contrary, exclude-neighbour = third-rate principle of action, in keeping with the present laws of primogeniture and entail. In fact, Great Britain must repudiate Christianity, or repudiate her present selfish legislation upon property.

I rejoice to discover even the shadow of that tendency, in her recent attempts to simplify conveyances, also in the Encumbered Estates Acts. These are legitimate attempts to admit instead of to exclude your neighbour, by facilitating purchase. The power of purchase will ever be difficult enough under competition, to act as a stay against convulsive change.

Any tendency towards a change in the inexclusive, I hail with pleasure, knowing that Creation is a present work, not only a past work. Man is being created every day, or he is being unmade every day, according as he practises the love of

the good and the neighbour or not. The Ministers and the Representatives of the New Church have lucidly expressed their sentiments in the centenary year, which all the world should have indelibly written on their hearts and minds, that, "God has created man in His image and likeness, that he may be trained on earth to become an angel of heaven. They declare it to be their belief, *'that no man can be blessed himself, except so far as he strives to impart blessings to others; and hence, that a generous and brotherly recognition of the rights of others, especially of full freedom of faith and practice, is the grand law of Providence for individual regeneration, for social happiness, and for national advancement.'*"\*

I certainly do not concur in Paley's remarks, that "The laws which accidentally cast enormous estates into one great man's possession, are, after all, the selfsame laws which protect and guard the poor man."† First of all, the laws which cast the enormous estates into the great man's possession, were not accidental but intentional; they were grants and gifts made agreeable to royal and governmental intention, not accidental. Neither is their exclusive retention accidental, but intended, and fully so designed by the laws of primogeniture and entail.

Will Paley assert that the poor and the husbandman are always cared for by laws compatible with justice, as much as the rich? Is it so in the Game Laws, in that portion of it which admits NO COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES DONE BY GAME?

Who better than Paley knows how it can be helped? Just laws would at once help and alter it; yet Paley asks, "Who can help it?" I am sorry to find so little consistency in Paley. Why, a just legislature would discover that no compensation for damages done by game is a law for the rich, which defends and secures the rich against the poor and the industrious man, leaving the latter no redress. Why does Paley depart from the truth so flagrantly when he says, "It is the law which defends the weak against the strong, the humble against the

\* "Intellectual Repository," No. LV. p. 296.

† "Reasons for Contentment," p. 568.

powerful, the little against the great.”\* The very opposite is in juxtaposition; and Paley must know it, or he is guided by a third-rate principle instead of a first.

These inconsistencies follow in such frequent succession in his treatise on “Reasons for Contentment,” that I refer the reader to the work, and shall at once leave such incoherence and incompatibility to the present day’s discernment, without further reference to his works.

Very different are the sentiments of Mr. John Locke from those of Paley. Locke’s starting maxim is “*Salus Populi suprema Lex esto.*”—Let the safety and security of the PEOPLE be the supreme law,—not the security of the rich only. Unlike Paley, he does not say “*Salus Opulentium suprema Lex esto.*” In Locke’s “Civil Government,” he says, “He who hath received ANY damage has, besides the right of punishment common to him with other men, a PARTICULAR right to seek reparation from him that hath done it.” Now how squares the non-compensation for damages done by game in our day, with honest John Locke’s instructions? Instead of punishment, there is now not only no punishment, but no reparation for damages done by the rich sportsman, who, especially in this day, preserves unmercifully, knowing his game is kept by the husbandman to the detriment of all his crops, while the sportsman, if he can any longer be called such, meanly crouches behind an unjust law, which was made wholly and exclusively for the opulent. Such laws prove that the opulent are not more honest than the laws compel them to be; which is tantamount to no honesty at all. The man that abstains from doing wrong only because of the penalty and punishment attending the act, is not honest upon principle, but upon compulsion. Such a man abstains by constraint, not by his good will and disposition,—the latter alone constituting the true man.

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\* “Reasons for Contentment,” p. 568.

## CHAPTER XCVIII.

## LOCKE VERSUS PALEY, CONSIDERED.

How comes it that J. Locke was not consulted when the Game Laws were altered? for he clearly lays down the true law for game. "The hare that any one is hunting is thought his who pursues her during the chase; for being a beast that is still looked upon as common, and no man's private possession, whoever has employed so much labour about any of that kind as to find and pursue her, has thereby removed her from the state of nature wherein she was common, and hath begun a property."\*

He also defines God's limit to the acquisition of property in common, and says, "'God has given us all things richly to enjoy' (1 Tim. vi. 17), is the voice of reason confirmed by inspiration. But how far has he given it us to enjoy? As much as any one can make use of to any advantage of life before it spoils, so much he may by his labour fix a property in; whatever is beyond this, is more than his share, and belongs to others." Yet in this day, opulent men pride themselves in shooting fifty and a hundred brace of birds a-day, and a dozen or a score of hares, and exult in the achievement! Worse than all, the sport is sullied by bearing a commercial character; for now, too often are the proceeds of the day sold to a dealer in game, in order to purchase the velvetten coat for the bully who is employed to preserve the food for these hares, rabbits, and game, at the expense of the honest husbandman and every working man in the country. See below, "The Voice from a Farmer on the Game Laws."

"What sound-minded man can look upon certain species of injustice, and not at the same time fear that the seeds of disunion are

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\* Sect. xxx. 198.



sown by the partiality of certain laws, which have arisen from the indifference of legislators in altering laws in conformity to present times and requirements, unless the requirements happen to suit the wants of the influential and potential in the governmental department?

"As if it were of no consequence about the country; no consequence about the majority; neither of the intelligent nor the morally good; nor of the industrially important body of this country; a few, a clique in favour, however self-elect, are enabled to perpetuate laws which are inappropriate to the day in which we live, and are infamous, and highly injurious in their effect upon the grand staple of the country; calculated to destroy the feelings of patriotism that would otherwise reign in every man's breast.

"To such an extent is this practised, that even famine, which a few years back was staring us in the face, did not seem to awaken any apprehension of danger either to themselves or the country.

"Who can have witnessed that price of bread amongst the commercial, manufacturing, and generally the labouring people of this country, and not think that the farmers were getting the best of it a few years ago? And yet this was not the case. The farmers have increased incumbrances, which I shall presently prove, and the fault does not lie with them, but it lies with those who eat more *game* than *bread*, and who have not to pay for the food of their game, which they legally steal, with the rise of corn; who are insane enough to raise the price of every man's loaf, rather than allow an alteration of laws which oppress the needy and commercial world equally with the farmer.

"No casual observer can form an idea of the serious injury and damage Game Laws inflict upon the country; the bad feeling they engender, and the insult they convey to the intelligence of this day. This law, which might have been consistent in Edward the First's time, that part of it, at least, which applied to *being taken with vert or venison*, was properly punishable, because those animals ran generally in the parks of the feudal lords, and are even now kept and maintained by the preserver, as are the sheep by the farmer; but what can we think of the act extending to wild birds, especially vermin (*vermes feræ*) and hares, which other countries recognize as such, and laugh at our timid obsequiousness to our vermin lords, who, by the bye, are fast being replaced by the Cockney sportsman,

who has no consideration whatever for the grower of corn, and considers by his £20 or £10 a-year for shooting privilege, that he is already a lord, if he can only get money enough to buy a fustian or a velvet coat, by which he is enabled to call Jack of all work a *keeper*! Of all tyrants, God deliver us from these petty tyrants, who are strutting out in the country now in such overwhelming numbers that little boys can no longer gather nuts, as of old, without being called poachers, and are ferociously driven away from the innocent gathering of God's gifts by velvet coats armed with guns and bludgeons, so ordered by their Cockney masters, tinkers or *printers*.

"In Banstead one of these mushroom pseudo-lords, by some mere chance, happened to be left five hundred acres of land, which really seems to have bereft him of common fellow-feeling; his vermin are so unfairly bred that it has become a farce to cultivate the land for corn with any expectation of profit. I have not even had my seed back on many occasions, and yet *Mr. Judge Russell Gurney* tells me there is no law for recovery of damages done by game, whether many or few. So there being no law and no honour amongst such baslaw vermin-breeders, why, we must raise the price of bread, because we can't grow the crops of corn the country and the labourer have a right to expect.

"Now, I should like to ask why there is no law for recovery? Why this injustice upon the whole industrial nation? I know I shall receive the old hackneyed phraseology, 'You take your farm upon such terms, and it is your own fault.' Now, the Hobson's choice we get is like the choice of torture that once rent the walls of the Bastille: you shall be put upon the rack, or be broken upon the wheel; you take life upon such terms; it is your own fault; why do you live? This specious arguing won't do for this day; it is an insult to the age in which we live.

"The reason why I call this specious is, because there is no solid reasoning in such an answer applied to this subject, whether *per fas aut nefas*. Farms are not like houses—cannot be built and manufactured to our hand, where our friends and pleasurable associations surround us; neither can we get them carved to our ideality as we should like; and when we have at last found one in most respects to suit us, we find out the shooting has been let for years before us, and leased for years to come. It is the only farm we can get

answering our requirements in every other respect. Now, I say, then, we are not free to choose. It is that farm, or, perhaps, ruin ; for I have known men ruined in waiting for farms, having spent their all they had to go in with, having *left their farms because of unfair game preserves that nearly ruined them before.*

“ Now, I say, until we can prove there is freedom of choice—full and sufficient choice—one has no right to say it is your own fault, because you have taken the only farm you could get.

“ The next answer I shall be met with is, ‘ You would have to pay more rent, and the landlord has a right to take the shooting for himself if he choose charging you less rental.’

“ Now, you would have to pay more rent, I am told ; and to give you all the benefit of this argument, what would that rent be in addition to the present ? I will tell you of a manor for sporting, of about two thousand acres, which is let for £18 per annum. Now, this would amount to two-and-a-half pence per acre. I say, don’t you think us farmers can afford that, as well as these Cockney vermin-breeders, who send the result of their day’s sport to the poulterers of London, which serves to pay for the velvet coat of their *soi-disant* keeper ? I know of another shooting lease, of about one thousand five hundred acres, let for £50 per annum to four Londoners, who have the use of the parson’s house, upon the condition the parson shoots jointly with them : however, the parson takes the liberty of shooting without them, forestalling their days of arrival, leaving nothing for them but the parson’s code of morality to fire at.

“ Now, if we could only turn out a parson on Banstead Downs with his gun in his hands, what a boon it would be to the poor who like cheap bread !

“ The argument that the landlord has a right to take the shooting for himself, and do as he likes with his own property, can be answered satisfactorily enough by analogy. Owning other property than land property, gives no right of injuring your neighbour. The owner of horses has no right to let his horses destroy his neighbour’s crops simply because the horses are his property, and he has a right to do as he likes with his own property.

“ The owner of a gun has no right to shoot a man because the gun is his own property ; neither has a landlord a right to reserve sporting to himself, the effect of which is to eat his neighbour’s and

tenant's crops, from which the entire country suffers, simply because the land is his own property.

"All other property is circumscribed by laws that are found beneficial to the common good. Certainly the land of England is not a small matter, that the legislator should overlook a provision that shall have a tendency to bring about a more abundant and uniform production of the food we all eat.

"Fifty pounds per year for one thousand five hundred acres would be about eightpence per acre, an amount merely nominal, though much more than the former; so it is a mere delusion to talk of paying an increased rental that would injure the farmer. I will be bound to say that, let the farmer pay according to the present rentals of shooting throughout the country, and himself shoot, the game itself would pay the sporting rents twice over. But the great advantage would be the *national one*: the increase of produce that would arise from the abolition of Game Laws, on the land now in cultivation, would be one-eighth; of the land that would come into cultivation, now thrown out of cultivation, one-sixteenth more; together, making three-sixteenths of the entire produce of the country destroyed, directly and indirectly, by game-preserves now made legal. This Game Law savours much of the old *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, the law which once disgraced this country: the Game Laws never ought to have survived the extinction of *nullum tempus*, for if it were seen then that it was an act of injustice to yield the right claim to the king reigning, and that no length of possession should avail against royal claim, how comes it that a right of claim is denied to the farmer who has to feed and keep game, and his fathers did it before him for hundreds of years, so, if they are not absolutely his, whose are they? Why, the lords of the land retain the power which they denied to their sovereign, and say *nullum tempus occurrit domino*, or, *my lord*—a pretty farce this for the nineteenth century! And yet this farce is played in real life, to the disgrace of this land.

"The game-preservers will try to say they keep the game; but, as every farmer knows to his sorrow this is not true, no answer need be adduced.

"Who ultimately suffers for all this? Not the farmer altogether and alone, for he raises the price of corn according to produce: the burden then also falls upon labour, and the employers of labour;



and I am enabled to prove, when I have sufficient space, that, directly and indirectly, the loss on cereal crops is one-fourth of the entire crops of the country; besides the loss on turnips and Swedes, and other esculent crops, on which game are most destructive.

“Say, for round numbers, the produce of the country is sixteen millions; one-fourth added to that would enable England to grow all her produce for the country, and the drain of gold would not be so frequently producing panics. In other words, the labouring man, losing one-fourth of the produce of the country, is paying actually twopence per quartern more for his bread on account of Game Laws. This is reversing the order of things, to the shame of the rich; this is the poor man keeping the rich, instead of the rich keeping the poor, or allowing the industrious to keep themselves; every mouthful of bread reminding him of unjust oppression in a country that boasts of its constitution.

“If exercise be necessary for any, it is necessary for all, to the exclusion of none; and if that be the reservation which the law upholds, why, in all seriousness, I advise the renewal of athletic games. Consult Peter Parley, who teaches how to bring every muscle into active strength—let every man become a gymnast; when, to the Cockney’s delight, he will find an absolute cure for indigestion; whilst walking after game only brings one set of muscles into play, causing fatigue sometimes, without physical benefit.

“Hunting is conducted in a much more respectable way. The farmer has little to complain of these sportsmen; hunters pay compensation, and act as gentlemen of the land ought.”

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## CHAPTER XCIX.

THE OWNERS OF EXCESSIVE WEALTH, PAYING HIGHER RATES THAN OWNERS OF SMALL INCOMES OF LABOUR, YIELD A GREAT REVENUE; AND THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH FIRST PRINCIPLES.

THE thorough statesman must learn to tax *himself first*. No man is qualified to become a Member of Parliament, that has not effected that amount of conquest over his own lower selfish nature.

Let it no longer be said, by one of their own friends, that "a man of honour has no ticket of admission at St. James's." Had "Junius" lived to this day, he would, I believe, have hailed with pleasure the dawn of virtue in our palaces royal. If the State trickster be still permitted to replace the man of honour at the head of governmental affairs, the unselfish statesman and the man of virtue and honour must be the only man admitted to power: the first evidence of such a man will be seen in his taxing himself first; thence proceed to his poorer neighbour.

An income and property-tax should increase *pro ratâ* as the amount increases, bearing heavily upon the larger amounts. No comparison can be made, according to our present imperfect mode of estimating and collecting the Income and Property Tax; but a plan must be adopted, such as my proposed plan merely illustrates. Arrive at the sum total of property and wealth, first of all; then class it into different rates, according to its excess; for man can no more be happy with excessive riches than he can with an excessively-crammed stomach, or with the disease of plethora. Creation has only provided capacities for given quantities; exceed the boundary of nature's limit and plan, and inconvenience ensues.

All the secretaries and stewards obtained, down to a private amanuensis, do not wholly, but only partially, relieve the de-

tail ; much less do they remove the anxiety of excessive wealth to a conscientious possessor.

According to the ordinary progress of nations, as every year would yield a larger amount, let the Government reduce the per-centage, the country taking good care not to multiply idle offices of State.

### *Income Tax.*

The following particulars are extremely important, in showing that out of a population of thirty millions, *less than three hundred thousand* persons are in possession of *incomes beyond one hundred pounds per annum*, or about one per cent. *Can this be possible ?*

	GREAT BRITAIN.		IRELAND.		Total.	
	Persons.	Amount Assessed.	Persons.	Amount Assessed.	Persons.	Amount Assessed.
SCHEDULE D.						
£50,000 and upwards.	51	£5,036,428			51	£5,036,428
10,000 and under £50,000	495	9,277,603	25	£468,903	520	9,746,506
5,000       "	862	5,754,885	30	201,059	892	5,955,944
4,000       "	472	2,042,035	12	52,875	484	2,094,913
3,000       "	802	2,647,275	46	152,318	848	2,799,593
2,000       "	1,653	3,781,882	97	224,397	1,750	4,006,297
1,000       "	5,539	7,146,607	327	429,616	5,866	7,57,6223
500       "	13,752	8,784,636	977	635,833	14,729	9,420,469
200       "	56,663	15,631,717	3,777	1,052,946	60,440	16,684,663
150       "	41,031	6,463,694	2,478	393,844	43,509	6,857,538
100       "	124,717	12,343,795	8,120	815,441	132,837	13,159,236
Under       "	20,977	1,303,562	1,302	83,235	22,279	1,386,797
	267,014	£80,214,119	17,191	£4,510,470	284,205	£84,724,589



SCHEDULE E.	GREAT BRITAIN.		IRELAND.		Total .	
	Persons.	Amount Assessed.	Persons.	Amount Assessed.	Persons.	Amount Assessed.
£5,000 and upwards.	72	£624,935	3	£32,640	75	£657,575
4,000 and under £5,000	23	99,094	4	17,829	27	116,923
3,000 "	58	194,541	14	52,354	72	246,895
2,000 "	150	333,982	16	34,251	166	368,233
1,000 "	1,290	1,545,297	60	73,767	1,350	1,619,064
500 "	3,264	2,136,148	230	148,046	3,494	2,284,194
200 "	17,717	5,325,375	1,042	297,110	18,759	5,622,485
150 "	11,541	1,976,902	538	87,920	12,079	2,064,822
100 "	33,478	3,452,418	2,131	195,824	35,609	3,648,242
Under . . . 100	24,187	1,441,275	737	41,693	24,924	1,482,968
	91,780	£17,129,967	4,775	£981,434	96,555	£18,111,401

A recent Parliamentary return has given the details of our enormous national debt; but there are very few persons who have investigated its bearings on society. The following analysis of this debt to the present year (1859,) is extracted from the *Monetary Times and Bankers' Circular* of October 8th:—

“The number of persons entitled to Dividends on the Public Debt at the Bank of England, in July last, was, for Great Britain, as follows:—

		Persons.
Not exceeding.....	£10 per annum...	94,301
More than .....	10 not exceeding £20 ...	44,917
- - .....	20 - - 100 ...	86,943
- - .....	100 - - 200 ...	22,663
- - .....	200 - - 400 ...	12,712
- - .....	400 - - 600 ...	3,663
- - .....	600 - - 1,000 ...	2,378
- - .....	1,000 - - 2,000 ...	1,174
- - .....	2,000 - - 4,000 ...	376
Exceeding .....	4,000 per annum .....	203

TOTAL.....269,330

“If the mean average of the above amounts of Dividend be taken for each class, and the average rate of interest at 3 per cent. per annum, the Capital represented by each class will be as under:—

Persons.	Average Dividend of each.	Total Capital represented.	Average Capital for each Person.
94,301	£10	£28,573,202	£333
44,917	15	22,458,500	500
86,943	60	173,816,000	2,000
22,663	150	113,315,000	5,000
12,712	300	127,120,000	10,000
3,663	500	61,047,558	16,666
2,378	800	63,411,748	26,666
1,174	1,500	58,700,000	50,000
376	3,000	37,600,000	100,000
269,127		£686,112,009	£2,549

“As the whole of the Funded Debt of Great Britain in 1858-9 is given at £743,685,278, and £686,112,009 was represented by 269,127 persons, the sum of £57,274,369 was represented by 201 persons; being an average of about £286,439 each, while the average Capital represented by 269,127 persons was about £2,549 each.”\*

It will be found that the total amount of this immense Debt is possessed by less than *one hundredth* part of the entire population of the United Kingdom, taking it at about 30,000,000 persons; or, in other words, there is only one person out of every hundred that has any direct interest in the principal of the debt itself, leaving 99 persons in every 100 to pay the tax in shape of interest, which amounts to nearly one-half the annual revenue of the country. It is very easy to prove that nearly the whole of this gigantic sum is paid out of labour itself, and scarcely any by property. It is time, therefore, that some plan of financial reform should be devised, to change the gross injustice which is thus committed upon labour and commerce.

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\* It must be observed, that the above amount of Public Debt does not include that of Ireland; which, to the same date, amounted to £43,114,176, making the total debt of the United Kingdom, to March 31st, 1859, £786,801,154.





*Value of Personal and Real Property.*

The value of personal and real property in Great Britain was estimated in the *Monetary Times*, May 7th, 1859, to be £6,000,000,000 : so that a tax of 3*d.* in the pound would yield £75,000,000 of money ; all that Great Britain would require, were all property, real and personal, fairly taxed.

How much greater would this property become, if all or part of the waste-lands, amounting to more than ten millions of acres,\* were in cultivation, and made to be reproductive !

Perhaps the influential of the nation will tell us why they do not gradually and more generally bring these lands into cultivation ?

Of course they cannot say it would not increase the demand for labour, since that is just what it would do ; on account of which, I expect, we shall not have these lands thrown into cultivation.

That which is cultivated becomes more valuable in proportion as the other is kept out of the market.

Does this, again, benefit the poor ?

If I were asked, towards what standard I would direct all my regulating media, I would say, Ask the stone towards what point does it fall. As Sir Isaac Newton saw towards what point the apple gravitated, so I see towards what point I must virtually, morally, and intellectually gravitate, *i.e.*, towards the centre of action, from whence all things centrifugate, and towards which all things centripetate. That is the meridian of quality—the nadir and zenith of existence ; that is the happy medium to live in, physically and morally ; as all things near this mediocrity are happy.

Let the statesman hold this standard before him, and examine himself first, whether he be diverging from the rectilinear, whether he be straight in all his principles of action or rectitude. Right lines may take their extension *ad infinitum*,

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\* See Estimate of Waste Lands in England and Wales.

but the smallest divergence interferes with his neighbour's proximate rights and privileges to extend in endless degree also.

Hence this world I conceive to be the centrifugal action. The analogy on this is worth considering, because the centre irradiates all the circumambient. The surrounding then contains the motive power of the centre; the centre, therefore, is the primary mover, and the ultimate in motion, since no vacuum cuts off centrifugation nor gravitation.

Man by his freedom of action makes diversions from the rectilinear, but the purity of the original force is the same; the use made of it by man only varies. All miseries, maladies, and afflictions are deducible directly or indirectly to this divergence from the rectilinear. All afflictions, maladies and miseries, therefore, are the consequences of wrong on our own part, or that of hereditary descent, the abuse of the grandest part of creation's munificent designs, that is, the freedom of choice, lest he become a slave or an automaton.

Why do Secularists doubt the justice as well as the existence of God? There is ample cause for this scepticism; injustice is the prevalent feature first among the reigning Powers, thence the tone of all society has taken its key-note from the higher ranks rather than the lower; the former are not only hurling down odium and monstrous iniquity upon themselves, but, alas! men of deep thought and integrity lament aloud and cry aloud, where is their God of Virtue? since all is now offered to the shrine of corruption.

The Secularists say, "We know the Deity only through his work, and if it be conceded that justice is not accomplished in the only world of which we have any experience, the legitimate inference is, not that another world will be free from imperfections, but *that justice is not one of the attributes of God.*"\* The departure from this right line of action by the legislature has brought about the most serious consequences in men's minds.

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\* *The Reasoner*, January 8th, 1860, p. 10.

The fool may look complacently upon all amid confusion, and and the misty time-serving attempts to delude, but the light has dawned upon us which lays bare the corruptions of State-minions, and of State, however plausibly they may have hitherto succeeded in defrauding and misguiding their people.

Shocking as it appears that men are to be found that openly express their doubt in the justice of Deity ; still more shocking is it when you have traced the provoking source to have emanated in the rulers of the world having departed from the virtue which is the only sustainer of true royal prerogative.

The justice of Deity is expected to be practised among the professors and propagators of Christianity and their order, by their aiding the cause of the needy—by their relieving the burden of oppression from the helpless portion of the community ; but this is not done by them. The Bishops, and the Ecclesiastical orders generally, are the first in the ranks to vote against the improvement of the laws that would come to their rescue. About one person in a hundred only benefits by that immense National Debt ; say of £30,000,000, that is, one person receives a portion of these dividends only, while ninety-nine persons pay to make up the amount that are not recipients of it.

Also there are only 376 persons receiving the enormous sum of £3000 each yearly, whilst there are 94,301 persons receiving only £10 each per annum ; and this illustrates the general ratio of the distribution of wealth throughout Great Britain.

They that have the most money buy the most rents of course ; but the burden rests upon *all* labour, the heavy weight of which so few seem to commiserate and feel for their incessantly toiling fellow-creature, with the gloom only of the Union at the end of their days, when the struggle ceases to render them longer able to earn their small daily wages ; economy and daily frugality will not open up for these low-wage labourers even hope for competency in their old age.

The value of real and personal property in Great Britain only, is computed by Mr. Ayres (author of the “Financial Register,” and editor of the *Bankers’ Circular*) to be

“ £6,000,000,000.” Now, this immense sum, taxed at 6*d.* in the pound, would yield the enormous sum of £150,000,000 annually; but as less than half this amount only is required, the smaller capitalists might have their property reduced in proportion to their diminution—say, from 6*d.* to 4*d.*, 3*d.*, 2*d.*, and 1*d.*; leaving industry, by such an arrangement, much less encumbered.

The struggling man has greater difficulty in maintaining his position now than was ever known, arising from the monetary system of speculation and contraction of resources to the needy. An alteration must now take place, or the miseries will become imminent both to commerce and the State.

## CHAPTER C.

“ IF I HAVE DONE ANYTHING FOR SOCIETY, I HAVE DONE IT REALLY FOR MY OWN ADVANTAGE.”—*Marcus Aurelius*.

ALL shall benefit by the improved condition of the many, whilst few only now benefit by the selfish calculations of exclusiveness.

Not only the artisan—not only the employed, but the employer—is benefited by high prices; every article, both of commerce and manufacture, is by it brought into demand and use; but of course some one must lose to the very extent of the rise in the prices of commodities. That is just the fact we must arrive at always; yes, and at once.

Our losses; but who are they that lose (apparently)? The rich lose at high prices; but only just to the extent of what they can well afford, and which to them is not a loss, for they charge it on their money; and those that want it when prices are



high must pay high prices for money ; the manufacturer or the merchant, therefore, ultimately pays the excess. They then getting better prices for their goods, can better afford to pay it without grumbling, until a monetary trick is played upon them, and extortionate rates are charged ; discounts rise higher and higher, until a panic ensues. All suffer but the Banks. After that, rates gradually fall again, but to experience the same process in varied repetitions. Neither the fallings nor risings are what I mean by the benefit that shall accrue to the majority by high prices, which is to benefit the many.

The monetary interests appear to be sufferers at high prices of commodities ; but the other side of the question is of far greater importance : the working community always suffer when prices are low—some wanting even employ, some by reduction of wages, short time, inconstant employ.

I do not pretend to perpetuate the system of taxation in any way as it exists at present, because the whole of it is based upon the very opposite principles to those of unselfishness. First, let us admit that no law is just that is based upon individual or factional selfishness. No man should be qualified to become a member until he has made that all-important conquest over himself. Yet this very quality is scarcely ever possessed by a member of our House of Parliament.

The late attempt at an approach to fairness in that of the Property and Income-Tax is so mixed up with selfishness, that we scarcely can see an approach to justice. Mr. Reuben Browning\* has so clearly shown up these inconsistencies, that I give his ideas in full :—

#### “PROPERTY AND INCOME TAX.

“The first item in the statement, from its importance and amount, is the ‘Property and Income Tax.’

“This appellation ought, with more propriety, to be rendered ‘Income Tax’ only. Abstractedly considered, there is no tax

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\* “Finances of Great Britain,” p. 11.

which appears more just than this impost : they who have incomes can best pay taxes ; and, judging from the readiness with which it has been received by the nation, it may be assumed that, although much clamour was made for the repeal of the war portion of it, generally speaking, a tax on income is favourably viewed by a large majority. As it is, nevertheless, admitted by all parties that it is now unequally imposed, our first duty will necessarily be to consider the most striking cases of its unfair assessment.

“ REPUTED UNFAIRNESS OF ASSESSMENT CONSIDERED.

“ That every one pays, or is supposed to pay, equally in taxation according to his means, is an observation frequently employed by the supporters of our fiscal impositions ; but injustice in the same assessment on permanent as upon precarious incomes, is apparent in the following cases :—

“ A, we suppose, possesses £33,333 6s. 8d. Consols, from which he derives £1000 per annum. At his death his representative his will possess the same advantage.

“ B, has a business from which he derives the same income ; on death, there is probably a good-will worth three years’ purchase . . . . . £3000

“ There is also a capital in the concern, partly in the plant on the premises, partly in his stock-in-trade, which, assuming that money in active commerce yields 20 per cent., is equal to . . . . . 5000

“ Total . . . . . £8000

“ C, has a profession or salary of £1000 per annum, entirely dependent on his exertions or ability. When he dies, there is neither income, stock-in-trade, nor good-will.

“ By the present Act they are nominally assessed alike each paying 7d. per pound, or £29 3s. 4d. per annum.

“ A, possessing *permanent* property, has no cause of complaint.

“ B and C, whose incomes are *precarious* and dependent on circumstances, are assessed too much : this will be shown in the following statements.

“The case of B considered :—

“Although B has an income of . . .	£1000	0	0
it will cease at his death ; and, there- fore, he must make a provision for that contingency. His good-will and stock-in-trade amount to £8000. His age 35 years, and the insurance on his life might be effected at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It will require £32,000 to produce £1000 per annum ; but having £8000 in property, as above stated, he need only insure for £24,000 for that object, for which he will have to pay		600	0 0

“Thus leaving his disposable income .	£400	0	0
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“Which ought to be taxed only with .	£11	13	4
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“The case of C considered :—

“C, having neither stock-in-trade nor goodwill, will be obliged to insure for the same object for £32,000, in order to perpetuate his income of . . . . . £1000 0 0

“Which at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would require .	800	0	0
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“Leaving him only to be assessed on .	£200	0	0
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“Or . . . . .	£5	16	8
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“So that there are *three* classes paying alike, which ought to be *varied*, in order to place them on an equal footing, viz. :—

A ought to pay . . . . .	£2	18	3 per cent.
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B „ „ . . . . .	1	3	4 „
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C „ „ . . . . .	0	11	8 „
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“Hence, if

A pays 7*d.* in the pound,

B should pay 2·796*d.*, or nearly 3*d.*, and

C „ 1,398*d.*, „ 1½*d.*

“It is true that in the returns of the tax the Commissioners allow for whatever may be paid by parties for life-insurance upon production of receipts ; but few people ever make insurances to the extent required for the purpose here suggested, which is to place *precarious* income on an equality with that from *permanent* sources.

But another class is represented to be unfairly treated—the holders of terminable annuities, particularly the Long Annuities, which stock, having but a short time to run, calls forcibly for investigation.

“Of this, however, there is reason to believe that the most clamorous parties have the least to complain; since, in their case, it may be shown that, if the tax were taken off, or partially removed, such parties would have an unfair advantage; for if I purchased last year Long Annuities, the price he paid for them was such as would not only allow for the payment of the heavy income-tax, to which these annuities are subjected, but would thus render him free in reference to this stock altogether, as in paying the tax he only performs his contract, for which he has received a consideration in the *cost price*.

“But it must be remembered that a very large proportion of these were created during the war, when the country was subject to 10 per cent. tax, or 2s. in the pound; so that any holder of annuities which were derived previously to the repeal of the former 10 per cent. tax, has been relieved of a considerable burden up to 1842, when the present tax was imposed; and subsequently, although paying, when the tax was 1s. 4d. per pound, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$  per cent. tax, he had still an advantage of 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. under that rate, which might have been added to the 1s. 4d. tax to make it conformable to the compact with the original possessor. Much of this stock has been held by public companies, and will, probably, be in this position.

“Even parties who purchased these annuities between the years 1816, when the first income-tax was repealed, and the year 1842, when the present tax commenced, have no more right in law to complain, than any one who, having purchased the end of a lease, finds himself called upon to fulfil the covenants of such lease, which his predecessor engaged to perform. Persons in such a position may excite our sympathy, but in reality they have no right to complain.

“Nevertheless, it might be a matter worthy of the consideration of the Government, whether, in the exercise of its benevolence, it would not do well to authorize the Commissioners to grant an appropriate relief in special cases to individuals who have become possessed of such annuities between the periods of 1816 and 1842; but all acquisitions of this stock since that period have assuredly no right whatever to be compromised in such relief.



"The holders of annuities for thirty years, recently created, have, on this principle, no cause of complaint, for at their issue they were purchased knowing the condition of income-tax, so that to them any cessation of the tax would be a decided advantage, for which they would have given no consideration whatever.

"Holders of life annuities are also frequently cited as being unjustly oppressed in this tax. But individuals so selfishly regardless of their successors, and desirous by a life annuity to avail themselves to the utmost extent of every advantage their property may yield, and having, by sinking their money, increased with their income the share of protection afforded by the law, ought not to complain of the full imposition of the tax.

"Leasehold property should, doubtless, be taxed only on its estimated value, according to its duration and contingencies.

"Great objection has been raised by former Administrations to a variation in the rates of this tax; but unless such be adopted, justice cannot be done to holders of *precarious* incomes.

"In the existing property and income-tax, a variation of rates exists, that of reducing the tax on incomes between £100 and £150 from 7d. to 5d. in the pound. Now, if it be practicable to make any difference of assessment, it certainly need not be considered impossible to introduce those referred to in this paper—namely,

Threepence in the pound in case B; and
Threehalfpence                   "           "   C.

In fixing these diminished rates for the classes B and C, the age of thirty-five years is selected for the proposed insurance. This has been done for convenience; but there would be no other impediment than the trouble in taking the actual age of the party and making the assessment for three years.

"In making exception to the age here mentioned, it may be urged that few men in business obtain an income of £1000 so early as thirty-five years. Were it intended in this proposition to apply it solely to incomes of £1000, such an exception would be valid; but its application is for a general purpose, and as a majority of incomes would be from £200 to £700, this age may be fairly taken. Although nominally it describes the position of £1000 per annum, practically, and in most cases, it would be applicable to incomes of less importance coming within the range of the tax.

“Nor would there be any objection to a real valuation of capital, instead of that assumed of five times the amount of income. To approach anything like justice in this matter, either a modification similar to the rates proposed must be adopted, or the property-tax must not be coupled with the income-tax. They should in propriety be considered separately ; then the interests of each might be more fairly treated.

“Both of these taxes are a judicious source of revenue, and should not too speedily be set aside, for it should not be overlooked that capital *engaged in commerce must otherwise escape* taxation altogether.

“This tax, at 1s. 4d. in the pound, produced sixteen millions ; it is now reduced to 7d., which will produce seven millions, if taken on the same scale. But as incomes as low as £100 are now taxed at 5d., there must be an augmentation to that estimate.

Although there is an expectation—not a very sanguine one, it must be confessed—that in 1860 this tax will be altogether repealed, many circumstances may be urged for the expediency and probability of its continuance. Direct taxation decidedly presses on the rich ; the poor escape it ; and as it will be found hereafter just to support indirect taxation, which affects more the lower classes, it seems equitable that this impost should always remain, but in a degree sufficiently moderate, so as to be extended with facility in cases of emergency. It is, therefore, recommended to perpetuate this tax with the modifications alluded to—namely, sevenpence, threepence, and threehalfpence per pound.”

Open up facilities for free trade, and extend our commerce unfettered all over the entire globe. If an income-tax were necessary, I would apply the same principle. Tax every labouring man less, every artist, every mechanic, and servant less, but exempting none from the minimum of one penny or halfpenny tax, that received a wage of £20 and upwards per annum ; while the larger incomes shall be increased with its excess. By so doing can the legislator discourage excessive accumulations of wealth, and benefit all mankind, without either convulsions or revolutions.

It will not be asked who can afford to pay one penny in the

pound on all their earnings, incomes, or profits of trade. The earnings of industrious incomes pay infinitely more at the present time, in an indirect way, which is undermining the honest efforts of our most industrious population, without their knowing clearly the cause of this under-current of adverse circumstances. It is highly important that every man should know for what he is labouring, and the exact amount of incumbrance which a Government entails upon him; as it is important that he should know how much he owes, and the particulars of his private debts. Direct taxation furnishes particulars of the liabilities of governmental demands in one line, simply and explicitly,—enables a man to have a clear perception of what he has to encounter, which of course facilitates his arrangements in providing for the demands of the State. While he has but that to pay, he would be less likely to fail in paying-up his one tax.

The small amounts constantly demanded are a loss of time both to the payer and the collector; reproductive industry is cheated of her fair expectation, and the whole country suffers in its yearly produce and increase.

Excessive expenditure of Government is ever dangerous to the Crown, as it is alike dangerous to the individual relying upon yearly contributions. It is not essential to her importance, nor to her national position in the eyes of the world; nor is it essential to her commercial protection. America, with so much less expenditure, affords her commerce and country equal protection. While wages there double those of England, commerce there also is making a progress doubly rapid. Taxes in England are entirely on the wrong shoulder, as now assessed.

The evidence adduced before the Parliamentary Committee in 1851 and 1852, appointed to inquire into the present mode of assessing and collecting the income and property-tax, and whether any other mode of levying the same can be adopted, so as to render the tax more equitable, resulted in the majority of the gentlemen examined by the Committee, declaring themselves in favour of a more comprehensive property and income-tax.

The Committee was constituted as follows :

IN THE SESSION OF 1851.

Joseph Hume, Esq., *Chairman*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Charles Wood).

Mr. Thomas Baring. Mr. James Wilson.

Mr. Cobden. Mr. Ricardo.

Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Roebuck.

Mr. Horsman. Colonel Romilly.

Mr. Henley. Lord Harry Vane.

Mr. Vesey. Mr. Sotheron.

Mr. Forbes Mackenzie.

THE SESSION OF 1852.

Joseph Hume, Esq., *Chairman*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Charles Wood).

Mr. Thomas Baring. Mr. Mackenzie.

Mr. Cobden. Mr. James Wilson.

Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Ricardo.

Mr. Horsman. Mr. Roebuck.

Mr. Henley. Lord Harry Vane.

Colonel Romilly. Mr. Sotheron.

Mr. Vesey.

#### *Actuaries.*

MR. SAMUEL BROWN : Points out the unjust working of the Act with regard to all precarious property depending upon life interest. *Thinks that all property should be taxed, and that a simple rule might be laid down for that purpose.*

MR. CHARLES JELICO : States that the present mode of levying the income-tax is exceedingly unjust. *That there are numerous omissions under the present system, amounting in value, in the estimation of practical persons, to nearly £2,000,000,000.* Is of opinion that the tax should be a property-tax, not a personal tax, and that one shilling and ninepence per cent. should be that tax. Would value as real property, professional incomes at seven years' purchase, and the incomes of merchants at three and a half years' purchase.

MR. THOMAS ROWE EDMONDS : Considers that the tax should be fourpence in the pound upon land, threepence in the pound on



annuitants and professional incomes. In cases of land and funds the whole tax should be paid by the life tenant, and the half of it recovered from the reversioner.

Mr. PETER HARDY : Would recommend *the substitution of a property-tax for the present income-tax. Suggests the capitalizing of all incomes, for the purpose of assessment to the tax.*

Mr. CHARLES BABBAGE : States that *property ought to pay for its protection* IN PROPORTION TO ITS AMOUNT ; and that that is determined by the value it produces, or what it will let at.

But this political economist possesses a strange perversion of ideas upon a just mode of taxation, for he says : “the poorer the man is, the more protection is important to him, and therefore the larger ought to be his contribution in proportion to his means, for the defence of his country.”

This “Babbagetical” stretch of imagination, which is economical and hideously distorted, I will leave with all its naked toadyism, without further comment.

Mr. JOHN STUART MILL : Would tax all beyond the reserve for necessaries, but justifies the present exemption from the income-tax of incomes under £150 ; &c. &c.

Then follow the American witnesses :

The Hon. DUDLEY SELDEN : States that the *entire expenses* of the State of New York are paid by taxes *upon real and personal property*. The value of the property to be taxed is to be fixed by approximation.

ASHBEL SMITH : States that all property in Texas is taxed *ad valorem*, with a very few exceptions.

*English Witnesses.—Non-official.*

Mr. WM. FARR : Is of opinion that the correct principle of taxation is, that each member of the community should contribute every year to the common yearly expenditure of the country, in a fixed proportion to the amount of property in his possession during that year,—to take a moneyed value of 3 per cent. on incomes when capitalized ; such incomes to be capitalized according to their market value. All property, real and personal, ought to be taxed.

Mr. JAMES REDDCLIFF JEFFREY : Advocates DIRECT TAXATION, *as the best and most economical of financial policies, to extend it*

*to the full length of substitution* FOR ALL OTHER TAXES, with a view to give the people the full advantage of FREE TRADE."

Let those who wish to inquire further into the evidences, examine for themselves, and take special notice of the English officials, in order "to learn how the routine of office warps and enchains the mind, and presents every change that may be proposed, however beneficial, as a thing of impossibility to carry into effect."\*

The views of Mr. Mill and Mr. Jeffery are not to be lost sight of. I am happy to find my plans somewhat in accordance with their views. Mr. Mill's views are: "It is right to consider whether the indirect taxes do not press more on the smaller than on the larger incomes. I conceive that they do." And Mr. Jeffery is not less emphatic, when he says, that he would not permit any exemptions, because he would propose that *direct taxation should be the* SUBSTITUTE FOR ALL OTHER TAXES.

We perceive there is a marked preference given to direct taxation by the majority of the witnesses examined.

Great care must be taken also, how we attempt to capitalize precarious industrial incomes from commerce, professions, occupations, labour, &c. The casuality must be considered, and by no means must be calculated upon as are permanent incomes; for instance, a man with an income of £1,000 for one year can make his expenditure accordingly; and that is worth more in proportion to its permanence, and is worth less according to its diminished period; else we shall fall into the absurdity of saying that a man with £500 for six months is as well off as the man with his £1,000 for one year; or another with £80 for one month, or another with £20 for one week, or another with 3s. for one hour. This the "Elements of Taxation" shows very clearly to be an important consideration.

Mr. Farr has accurately demonstrated, that "a tax on incomes should not only be proportionate as to amount, but as to time also."

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\* "Elements of Taxation," p. 16.

Sir Robert Peel once said, that “No tax ought to discourage industry in this country.” Yet we retain the discouragements of fiscal restrictions interfering in a variety of ways with freedom of commerce, arising out of indirect taxation.

The “Elemental Taxation” very clearly elucidates, that “the *beau idéal* of freedom of trade cannot be realized until every duty imposed upon commodities, every excise upon manufactures, for State necessities, be completely and for every swept away, and direct taxes substituted. Then, indeed, should we have labour emancipated,—that labour which, though the source and maintenance of all wealth, has for ages been encumbered with a load of exactions altogether disproportionate to its power of sustentation.”

Even now am I told, by some misanthropes, that the labouring man consumes no taxed articles, although £37,600,000 are raised by indirect taxes, and only £9,300,000 by direct taxation. The thirty-seven millions then, so recently as in 1852, were raised specially upon industry and upon the necessities of the people.

I will enumerate from the Net Produce of the Revenue of Customs in the year 1852, the various articles that are consumed specially by the *working body* of this community :—

## DUTIES INWARDS.

	£	s.	d.
Apples . . . . .	10,893	18	1
Baskets . . . . .	3,594	19	8
Beer, Spruce . . . . .	4,662	0	9
Boots, Shoes, and Calashes . . . . .	3,335	2	2
Boot Fronts . . . . .	5,058	17	3
Butter . . . . .	166,780	10	1
Cheese . . . . .	83,241	10	8
Chicory . . . . .	2,487	4	5
Clocks . . . . .	7,680	19	1
Cocoa and Chocolate . . . . .	18,912	6	6
Coffee . . . . .	144,670	0	0
Coir, Rope, Twine, and Strands . . . . .	2,795	19	7

	£	s.	d.
Corks ready made . . . . .	5,760	0	11
Corn, Meal, and Flour . . . . .	504,921	4	4
Cotton . . . . .	2,074	16	5
Currants . . . . .	357,851	13	1
Deals, Battens, &c. . . . .	304,474	6	11
Eggs . . . . .	42,112	0	10
Fire-Wood . . . . .	6,043	8	8
Fish, principally salt . . . . .	1,577	18	3
Do. do. . . . .	1,842	5	6
Ginger, dry . . . . .	5,534	5	10
Glass Bottles . . . . .	1,540	2	4
Do. . . . .	9,434	2	4
Hair, or Goats' Wool . . . . .	2,199	1	7
Hats, or Bonnets, of Straw . . . . .	2,384	18	11
Hops . . . . .	212	10	1
Iron and Steel, wrought . . . . .	2,770	10	3
Lath-Wood . . . . .	7,347	7	5
Leather Gloves . . . . .	42,350	10	2
Linens . . . . .	4,321	8	9
Liquorice Juice . . . . .	9,998	13	10
Mace . . . . .	2,847	12	8
Mats and Mattings . . . . .	1,717	6	0
Onions . . . . .	2,541	9	0
Oranges, &c. . . . .	81,086	12	1
Pears, raw . . . . .	2,128	0	4
Pepper . . . . .	86,670	2	8
Potato Flour . . . . .	1,124	12	5
Prunes . . . . .	9,270	14	1
Raisins . . . . .	163,912	11	6
Rice . . . . .	10,951	16	9
Rice, in husk . . . . .	1,348	19	1
Rum . . . . .	1,097,920	13	4
Seeds, Clover . . . . .	41,007	17	6
Soap . . . . .	1,100	13	7
Spars . . . . .	1,641	11	11
Sugar, unrefined . . . . .	3,637,061	10	4
Do. . . . .	346,542	14	5
Do. Molasses . . . . .	175,535	13	9
Tallow . . . . .	67,839	16	0



	£	s.	d.
Tea . . . . .	5,900,624	13	7
Timber, not sawn . . . . .	198,363	5	0
Tin . . . . .	11,238	19	9
Tobacco and Snuff . . . . .	4,466,468	19	4
Vinegar . . . . .	1,221	0	9
Woollen Manufactures . . . . .	9,629	8	11

## ARTICLES OF EXCISE.

Hops . . . . .	426,028	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Licences . . . . .	1,160,570	13	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Malt . . . . .	5,035,559	17	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paper . . . . .	928,876	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Soap . . . . .	1,043,026	16	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Spirits . . . . .	6,030,323	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sugar, home-made . . . . .	3	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Do. used in Brewing . . . . .	153	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$

There is also the traders' profit to be added to these amounts, making it 25 to 50 per cent. more before the consumer can obtain these articles of duties and excise.

After this, let no one attempt to say that the working classes are not more burdened with taxation than the rich.

I have omitted that which the rich are supposed to consume, such as almonds, china, porcelain, artificial flowers, grapes, hams, honey, lace, nutmegs, oils, chemicals, essential perfumes, opium, pictures, plate, gold and silver, plums, poultry, prints, silk, brandy, wine, confectionary, vermicelli, and game certificates, hackney carriages, post horses, and railways.

Is it possible that the people of England can know the history of their taxation, and submit to it with complacency? They cannot know it, or submission becomes a crime! Can it be possible that they know how the feudal lords and knights threw off their military tenures, and shifted the expenses of government from themselves on to the industry of the country? Is it known that, in order to effect this, they destroyed universal suffrage, and made the House of Parliament to consist of Borough representatives only? Is it known how they deceived

the people at that time by the misnomer of that corrupt house—calling it the House of Commons, at the very time they had made it anything but the house of the people? It was literally a house of selfishness alone. Can the people of England know that, ever since, little but legal plunder has been practised upon us, the industrious but too confiding English? Know that the very of House of Commons, so called, which then was made to consist of Borough representation, should have been called the House of Boroughs, and was not so called because the *denominated common people* were to be deluded and entrapped by a *name* which, from the prevailing ignorance of the sixteenth century, was all they knew about the laws which governed them?

Do not the people of England know that the Aristocracy in 1660, having accomplished this great change in their own favour (by the vilest fraud ever committed upon the public), they commenced this transference of the burden by the *Excise*? Is it possible that the English do not know that from this very time the people had not only to fight but to pay for fighting, while the lords of the land reaped the only benefit from it? The National Debt is the result of these indirect Excise laws; for, no sooner had the burden of paying taxes been shifted from the higher orders, than profligacy, waste, wars, and extravagance ensued; money was spent like dirt; neither the king nor his ministers regarded the consequences. The necessity of public economy was uncared for, simply because themselves were no longer the principal contributors to the revenue.

This is the reason why we have no extension of the suffrage, why we have not an equalization of electoral districts, nor even vote by ballot!

Do we not see why the *Times* newspaper is so vehement against the attempt to recover a just and fair property and income-tax, comprehending all the taxes of the country?

The Excise and Customs were originally shuffling modes of changing the burden from the shoulders of the rich to the shoulders of the poor and industrious. The indirect mode of taxation was adopted in order that it should not be seen by the

innocent victims what amount was paid individually, and so that it should be the more readily extorted.

Had not this indirect mode of taxation been adopted, the National Debt would never have been created, because the burden of the rich would not have been removed; they would not have incurred a debt which themselves would have had to pay.

Thus have both incumbrances been shifted from the rightful shoulders. The agriculturists, for the greater part, take the poor and the Church, provided by Queen Elizabeth, and established in her reign by an Act passed in the 43rd year of that queen: thence arose the Law of Settlement. The merchants manufacturers, and labourers, take the burden of the army and taxes in general, for the greater part; while the priests and the landed aristocracy have retained their immunities, without contributing that portion to the nation for which those enormous benefits were granted them.

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## CHAPTER CI.

### THE MILLIONS LOST TO THE NATION BY A WANT OF PRINCIPLE ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT.

MANY wild schemes, purely chimerical, have Englishmen readily entered into without that caution which ought to characterize men of business; and perhaps none more readily than those which Government would recognize, and of which they become the principal shareholders; yet none generally are more dangerous to mercantile interests than those which governments do originate or uphold.

Government has of course always identified its course of proceedings with the show of common good; and however

mercenary or selfish their object has often seemed to have been, they shield themselves under the garb of constitutional undertakings; and the too confiding and over-worked merchant and man of business yield blind assent to that on which inquiry and scrutiny might have saved themselves and their country.

In the reign of George I. the public were wronged and robbed out of millions by the South Sea Company. Nothing could more forcibly prove how totally incompetent, from want of principle, were our lordly officers of State to conduct the affairs of the nation. When the causes which induced Government to sanction this South Sea Bubble came to be investigated, it was found that these self-named great statesmen, together with the king's mistresses, had been bribed to support it, to the amount of £1,200,000. Even the Prime Minister himself, the Earl of Sunderland, it was discovered had had given to him £50,000. I think we want no further proofs of the infamy and of the disgraceful conduct of the ministers of that day; but subsequent periods have shown us even greater mal-appropriations of the people's property and capital. Had we looked upon this as premonitory of the roguery which we afterwards experienced, we might have averted those black records which darken the history of our nation, but which, worst of all, have left their virulent results still, the true specific for which has never been applied.

England has been tickled with names long enough. She must no longer be awed into vassalage by dukes, earls, and lords, without merit or any qualifications beyond those which appropriations of public money procured them. Henceforth let England recognize no titles but those of merit, and no merit, however talented, unless there be virtue and integrity. Let no man build himself up at the expense of principle, nor any principle be recognized opposed to the fundamental laws—the love of God and the love of our neighbour.

We must commence with our own individual exertions. Wherever a man is to be found who is yet a Tory, look upon him as one not well up in political tactics, or who prefers perpetuating abuses. You may be quite sure it is want of



knowledge of the history of taxation, or the interest he takes in perpetuating abuses, that makes him a Tory. I do not allude to the Liberal-Conservative, who may be better than a Whig—the hopeful child of the aristocracy. Awaken him to a sense of his delusion and danger; intreat him not to be led by the *Times* at all, or he will acquire a wrong political bias.

No man has a right to any political denomination, to be considered either *Tory* or *Liberal*, until he has informed himself upon the subject of our unnecessary and excessive taxation. His country demands that every man shall do his duty, before he gives himself any name or title. Since there always has been a class of men too indolent and apathetic about their own interests—those interests which are not directly seen and felt; such men are dangerous to the State, to the commonwealth of England: let us take care that these men are not made the tools of the oligarchy, the aristocracy, nor the mercantile millionaire, as they always have been. The aristocracy, having given themselves fine names, have taken care to give the substantial, honest men of the country bad names; knowing that names are what three parts of the country judge by, without ever knowing or inquiring into merit, or who originated the *name*. Men of business too well know the value of property, not to wish to protect it; as merchants, they now understand that labour and commerce are the only genuine sources of wealth (in contradistinction to the practice of the drones of the aristocracy, who are too often the consumers of it, forming no part of the community as producers of wealth). As commercial men, with our eyes open, we find that we ourselves, having toiled in our younger days, have a just claim upon the consumption of our earnings ourselves, without having artificial consumers, such as the aristocracy are. We know, also, that the men who never had to *toil for their wealth are not likely to be economical managers of the wealth of the country*; but they always have squandered our hard-earned millions, and did not stop at hundreds of millions, but have gone on, without a shadow of principle or prudence, in spending actually thousands of millions. The legislators, up to this day, prove themselves not to have the remotest idea, nor in-

tention, of economy and retrenchment. Since, then, they are the wasters of the wealth and property of the country, they can have no just claim to the name they have given themselves—*i.e.*, *Conservatives*. We take from them that name, and place it upon that body of men whose interest it is *to be* conservative—to take care of the wealth, and cause a prudent, economical, and financial expenditure of it.

All property must be respected everywhere, and must remain as it now stands, whether the owner be an aristocrat or a democrat; but all excessive wealth must take its justly-increased proportions in the taxation of the country.

The political improvers know well that now to neglect the loud outcries of the country, so advanced in intellectual attainments—to neglect the artisans, who have so rapidly progressed in this attainment, and are able to express themselves so lucidly and emphatically in asserting their just rights—to neglect the organizations of all the artisans of the country, with their respectable and systematic leaders—is both detrimental and dangerous. We know well that longer to neglect the public voice is inimical to our peaceful existence.

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## CHAPTER CII.

### IS THE NATIONAL DEBT BENEFICIAL TO THE NATION, AND WHOM DOES IT BENEFIT?

THE present plethora of money does not indicate a bad state of things amongst bankers, nor in the Bank of England. All large transactions must have time for their accomplishment. The moneyed men contemplating foreign loans can well afford to wait till bullion returns to the Bank in sufficient quantity for them to grant foreign loans to a large extent, instead of keeping this bullion and specie for home requirements.

Will the nation be benefited by these foreign loans that are about to take place? I think it will be easy to prove that they will be considerable sufferers by it, inasmuch as discounts will rise in proportion to the amount lent to foreign nations; money will become proportionately scarce, and new seeds will thus be sown for another and an early panic. Who will benefit by the transaction but the banks of England, the millionaires, and their emissaries? But commerce and industry will again be jeopardized; confidence will again be made the bugbear of the banking strategy; the whole working part of the nation will suffer the burden, the whole of which will be certain to fall upon labour, because all encumbrances of nations, permanent or ephemeral, must have a termination somewhere: the powerful have the means of casting the burden from their shoulders, and so on downwards till it reaches the helpless, which is identical with the needy—the man that works.

Hence I give the first answer to the inquiry—viz., that debts are not beneficial to the working portion of this country, whether it be in the shape of a foreign loan or a national debt at home.

Prostration of business will generally produce a large accumulation of capital in the hands of the banks, similar to that of 1858 to 1859; but these accumulations in the bankers' hands are but aggravations of the evil, placing more power where power is already in excess.

The *Monetary Times*\* of December 25, 1858, has honestly and clearly illustrated this fact:—"The prostration of business which generally prevailed after the return to cash payments under the Currency Act of 1819, produced ultimately a large accumulation of capital in the hands of banks; but instead of its being an increase of money capital, it was merely an aggravation of it; and men whose minds were infected with a mania for foreign speculation considered it a good opportunity for indulging their appetite. In the course of the five years ending with 1825, nearly £50,000,000 of foreign loans were

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\* *The Monetary Times and Bankers' Circular*, Dec. 25, 1858, p. 855.

contracted in London, for which, of course, large quantities of gold were withdrawn from the country. The great error in the public mind was, that there was an increase of loanable capital, instead of an accumulation which might have been redistributed at home in domestic enterprise instead of in foreign loans, many of which remain unpaid to this day."

Now, we have the greatest proof that can be given, that the present bullion and specie, amounting to £19,148,997, is not a foreign loanable capital, since, only nine months ago, this capital, in commercial circulation, was insufficient for the requirements of the country; the result of which was, a panic of a most disastrous character.

Again the *Bankers' Circular* says:—"Are we not in danger of having the same error repeated in 1859? Already the foreign schemes in embryo are numerous, to push forward contracts in the English money market for loans; and however tempting a low rate of interest may be, are we acting wisely in encouraging the introduction of foreign loans, and a host of foreign securities, that at other times would not be looked upon by English capitalists? The bullion operations of a trading nation should be free to all with whom it has intercourse, but the currency of a country ought not to be made the sport of any such transactions. It is to be hoped, therefore, that, rather than venture English capital in such speculations, the present abundance will be diverted to the encouragement of legitimate enterprise at home."

All this has materially to do with First Principles, because a departure from them has brought about all these evils, that only required to be pushed far enough in the direction of their enormity, in order to be seen by every eye having an honest intention to play fair.

Whom, then, does the National Debt benefit, since it is not the labouring, industrious, plodding people of England? Of course the benefit is somewhere, since I have often been told, in the neighbourhood of the Exchange, that it is a benefit. Yes, it does benefit the purlicus of the Royal Exchange, most assuredly, and not to a small extent. It benefits the worst



class of men this country contains—the money-jobber, the stock-jobber, the speculator, the wholesale gambler, the unscrupulously vicious mercenary—that seeks to gain by others' losses. Such as these have all the laws made in their favour—are all-powerful in making the laws of Great Britain—by whom, and for whom, *de facto*, the National Debt was first created, and up to this day is upheld and maintained. Yes, the infamy of kings commenced it—the infamy of men retains it, under royal patronage withal.

Talk of First Principles to such men! Why, they will say he must be mad who would hint at it on the *Royal Exchange*! Such, the devils of hell say to the good and wise in all generations. Such would William Paterson\* say, were he to rise up in judgment against me.

But for the insatiable desire of these mercenaries to lend their money to promote wars—to sustain them, perpetuate them, and to stir up an apparent necessity for them—England would not have had her National Debt. Thank them well, “ye soft and easy cushions,” upon which these knaves repose and fatten; thank the devil. Yes, good people, whom I love as I love my country—who I hope will yet become pure—open your eyes, and see; or your jobbing, gambling, betting extortioners will open wide their mouths, and swallow up the few virtues you have left!

See how much money you can gather together, ye upright men of Britain, and if ye be tempted to play foul,—yes, if wealth you can command, you can command the *Times* to write for you, City Articles, Money Articles,—enough to show that white is black and black is white,—that peace was concluded in 1697 at Ryswick by loans to Government,—by the same loans war was carried on with France,—for what, we scarcely know now. By these loans there was vast rivalry between the East India and South Sea Companies,—that Government stood so high, that its securities, when traded upon by these mercenaries, fell 40 to 50 per cent.,—of course, all for the benefit of the

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\* The projector of the Bank of England.

nation. The *Times* will tell you that there was then a law made to check the malpractices of the brokers and stock-brokers, but they having now arrived to such a pinnacle of purity *they need these laws no longer!* Anything else you like the *Times* will tell you, for “you pay your money and you make your choice.” You may even “breathe on the glasses” if you like—a slice of liberty exceeding any other charilatan, for the *Times*, getting its money, is not very anxious that you should see too clearly.

It will tell you that the interest of the Bank and the Government securities is identical; that the credit of Government securities rose and fell with the credit of the note, whenever adverse positions arose from the drains of war or deficiency of taxes; but it will forget to tell you all this might arise from the schemes of speculation.

It will tell you that the Treaty of Ryswick was so important, that it was well worth laying a foundation of only £5,160,459 14s. 9¼d., not caring that the system once entered upon should appear of any consequence, though the debt reached £807,981,788 in 1858. It assures you that all people must be first-rate in principle that hold first-class paper, making no distinction between paper and principles; therefore, First Principles must be their regulating medium: they would have you believe as they would, that there can be no possible difference between first-class paper and First Principles; but if you dispute it is not of the slightest consequence, “you pay your money and you make your choice.”

A principle of integrity is old fashioned, grown obsolete, not at all convenient for stock-jobbers and the *Times* newspaper to acknowledge. This sagacious journal will tell us, with unblushing audacity, that the £3,000,000,000 which the French Revolutionary War, &c., ran us into, is not of the slightest consequence; nor are the pension lists of Abergavenny, Amherst, Auckland, Bexley, Edmund Burke, Grafton, Glenelg, &c. &c., amounting to some round figures of £50,000 annually—granted (to the aristocracy *of course*) for offices that might have been held but for one year,—and during that short time were held for

doing nothing ; yet when dismissed from such *arduous duties*, they shall retain a salary in perpetuity—the hereditary provision, granting them a pension for once having held a *SINECURE*, which their sons inherit, and they in their turn become pensioned. Thus not only was the National Debt incurred in order to provide for kingly waste, embassies, plenipotentiaries, viceroys, lieutenancies, &c., but to provide a cunning species of jobbing amongst a newly-created aristocracy of *millionaires*, *more mercenary and infinitely more dangerous* than the landed aristocrat.

The worst feature is, that there is no end to the augmentations of this list of expenses. Not only do we pay our ambassador to the French ten thousand, and to the Russian eleven thousand, but each of these places has four or five on the pension list, at thousands a year. In the case of the Ottoman Porte, four persons having been ambassadors to it, each receives a salary of from £1,056 to £2,056 each, besides the salary of the acting ambassador, which in the case of Sir Stratford Canning amounted to £7000. So that our ambassadorial relations with such a State as Turkey, might now cost us twenty thousand a year. About four hundred thousand is thus charged for Ambassadors and Consuls yearly, one-fourth of which is for retired salaries. All this, the *Times* will tell us, is very beneficial to the NATION ; they meaning by a NATION, State stipendiaries and money jobbers—no one else !

Then the list of salaries coming from Charles the Second's debaucheries and adultery. Next comes the *Fumes consumeri nati* ; the thiggers and sorners ; the Scotch list of Campbells, (sixteen in a row,) Hamiltons, Murrays, Sinclairs, &c. ; the mistresses of ministers and placemen ; the royal and noble prostitutes. Then the list of Offices of Government and the legal pensions ; all of which are laid hold of by whom ? by the greatest toadies of every age.

It would puzzle a very wise man to say which of the three Bills that were passed under the names of the South Sea Act, the Bank Act, and the General Fund Act, benefited the honestly industrial body of Great Britain the most ; it would be

even difficult to say they advantaged real honest industry at all.

We know something of the number that were ruined when the bubble burst in 1719 ; we know something of the characters of the survivors of that remote age ; *i. e.*, that they carry on the same self-sustaining monetary jobbing up to the present day, every act of which benefits themselves at the expense of industry.

I wish to introduce the remarks of Mr. Hamer Stanfield to the thinking world, for their sound and honest views on the present Banking system.

“Panics,” says Mr. Stanfield, “are the harvests of the Money Interest. This must be evident to all, on comparing the Dividends paid in 1852, a year of cheap money and prosperity, with those paid in 1857, a year of dear money and panic, by the following London Joint-Stock Banking Companies :—

	1852.	1857.
Bank of England . . .	7½ . . . . .	11
London and Westminster. . .	8 . . . . .	16
Union of London . . .	7 . . . . .	20
London Joint Stock. . .	9½ . . . . .	22½

The direful results alluded to, are attributed by the Committee to overtrading and speculation, but these will rectify themselves, if left to themselves ; not indeed without severe pressure to all parties concerned, but without any general panic. Acts of Parliament cannot stop them, or make wise men out of fools.

“To prove to you that panics are the offspring of the Law of 1844, look at the fact, that both in 1847 and 1857, when the Act was suspended, the panics ended.

“As Lord Ashburton once said, ‘Our monetary laws put it in the power of a few capitalists so to contract the supply of gold, as to enrich themselves, embarrass the bank, and nearly ruin the nation :’ and Mr. Chapman, of the Firm of Overend, Gurney, and Co., gave in evidence that ‘capitalists avail themselves of this power.’

“In former days it was the practice on some sea-coasts, where the inhabitants subsisted a good deal on the plunder of wrecks, to fasten, during the night, a lantern round the neck of a horse, and to tie up



one of his feet, so that his limping action might deceive ships at sea, and lead them to think it was a ship's light, which they might safely follow. Just such is the effect of the Act of 1844, which caused the Directors of the Bank of England to depart from their previous rule of never discounting under 4 per cent., (no blame to them, as they are bound to consider the interest of their shareholders,) and to canvass through their Country Branches for Bills, which they would discount at 2 per cent. Such offers of cheap money naturally induced people to launch out, (prone enough to do so without any such stimulant,) under the impression that it was the opinion of the Directors of the Bank of England that they might safely extend their business. This breeze of confidence thus engendered, aided perhaps by good harvests, or other favourable circumstances, strengthens into a wind, swells into a gale, which ends in a hurricane and general wreck.

"It is then the Act of 1844 obliges Directors, in self-defence, to refuse to assist the ships in distress, excepting at an enormous rate of discount for salvage; and the owners are coolly told, they should not have ventured out so far. The Act of 1844 first decoys, and then destroys its victims.

"Fluctuations in the value of money are the main-springs of speculation, and inasmuch as the Act of 1844 creates more frequent and violent fluctuations than were ever known before, it consequently promotes speculation and generates panic! Look at my Diagram, and observe the striking contrast exhibited between the fluctuations in the Bank rate of discount during a period of one hundred and forty years of Unrestricted Issue, or Free Trade in Currency; and one of fourteen years of Restricted Issue and Monopoly. The black lines denote the minimum rate of discount of the Bank of England, *showing that for one hundred and forty years previous to the Act of 1844, under an unrestricted power of issue, the Bank rate only fluctuated between 4 and 5 per cent., excepting for a few months in 1839, when it rose to 6 per cent., whilst during the fourteen years of Restricted Currency under the Act of 1844, the fluctuations were from 2 to 10 per cent.* During the former period, under the principle of Free Trade in Currency, notwithstanding the long and expensive French war, and the annihilation of foreign trade, commerce had an easy and almost level road to travel upon, safely and steadily as far as money went, whilst

during the latter period of fourteen years, under a Restricted Currency it had a path as rugged and dangerous as the Alps, with constant alternations and difficult ascents, and rapid and perilous descents.

"The rise in the rate of discount indicates but a small portion of the mischief: it is the consequent fall in the value of goods and produce which is the great evil. A house with a capital of £10,000 enjoys a credit which enables it, in the regular course of business, to buy goods and produce to the amount of £10,000; and as a rise in the Bank rate of discount to ten per cent. will depreciate its value some ten to fifty per cent., that house is driven at once into bankruptcy. The unnatural expansion and contraction of credit, by which prices are governed, arises out of the essential principle of the Act of 1844.

"The red lines denote the amount of Bank Reserve (*i.e.*, of the sum of money at the disposal of the Bank, which in a great degree represents the unemployed money of the whole country,) and by contrasting them with the black lines, which indicate the rate of discount, you will find that the rate is governed (as admitted by the Bank Directors) by the state of the Bank Reserve; thus in 1852, when the Bank Reserve was £14,000,000 the rate of discount was down to 2 per cent., and in November, 1857, when the Reserve was down to £581,000, the rate of discount was up to 10 per cent. Is it not evident, that the Bank rate of discount, or value of money, depends upon the quantity of money at its command, and that by limiting the amount to be issued, the value is increased to the benefit of the Money Interest, and to the prejudice of the Labour Interest?

"Although the Bank of England and all bankers might, before the Act of 1844, issue as many notes as they pleased, without giving any security, it was then Free Trade only in an unsound Currency, and not, as we advocate Free Trade, in a sound Currency, requiring security to be given by the issuers to insure the convertibility of their notes. And yet, contrast the steady and moderate rate of money under Free Trade, even in an unsound currency, with the extreme fluctuations in a restricted currency, as exhibited in the Diagram.

"By the passing of that Act the Labour Interest was sold, perhaps unconsciously, to the Money Interest. A monopoly was given

by it to the *Bank of England*, and to the existing Private and Joint Stock Banks of Issue in England. They were allowed to issue a limited amount of Bank Notes, and all further issues were prohibited, excepting by the Bank of England against Gold. Now, as most of the customers of these Banks are under obligation to them, and lenders have great influence over borrowers, they dare not open their mouths to protest against a monopoly, the value of which becomes greater as gold leaves the country, and as the consequent alarm increases, and panic approaches.

*“That your interest, and that of your masters, has been betrayed by, and sold to, the money interest, in the recent investigation before the Committee on the Bank Acts, is evident from the tacit compromise which took place between an Association of Private Issuing Bankers and the Directors of the Bank of England. At the outset of the inquiry, these two parties were opposed to each other, and both wanted alterations in the law. The Directors of the Bank of England wished that private bankers issuing notes should be put upon the same footing with themselves, by giving securities for their issues: this the private bankers objected to, as locking up so much of their capital. The private bankers, on the other hand, wished one of the privileges of the Bank of England, which was a restriction on them, to be taken away; to this the Bank of England objected, and the result was that both parties waived their objections, and recommended that there should be no alteration whatever in the law. Both parties enjoy a monopoly of manufacturing these Truck Tickets, and they combine their interests against that of labour, in order to maintain it.*

And these opinions of interested parties are given by the Committee as good reasons for retaining the law as it is, and continuing the monopoly it gives them!! Here in the North, we should be of a very different opinion, and make some allowance for a peculiar frailty of *human nature*’, as Sam Slick would say.

*“It is no slight task, that you, the working classes, are here called upon to undertake. The influence of the banking power is enormous. That of the Bank of England alone is greater than that of the Queen, Lords, or Commons; it is the ruling estate of the realm. Imagine the power of the Bank screw on the public, and the pressure which the Bank of England and other Banks can bring to bear on most of their customers, verily, the expectation of contending suc-*

cessfully with such gigantic influences appears almost hopeless. Nevertheless, when you consider that the banking interest is divided on the subject of reforming our Monetary Laws ; that many bankers are vehemently opposed to them, considering wisely, that though at times they may yield them a higher rate for their money, yet that, on the long run, their customers, and they along with them, suffer more from the extreme fluctuations and the panics which they create ; that almost all Joint Stock and Private Bankers, *not interested* in the monopoly of issuing Notes, will be with you : that the landed interest, to whom a reduction of a half per cent. on their mortgages (which would probably be the case, were the monopoly destroyed), would be of vast importance ; that the railway interest to whom the reduction of one per cent. on the average of their loans, would be a dividend in itself ; that the mercantile, manufacturing, agricultural, shipping, and building interests, and, in short, all labour interests would support you ; that, in addition to all these, you will have the aid of the sound principle of free trade, and of the sacred principle of justice ;—you need not despair.

“ Appoint in each Parliamentary constituency a few of your most intelligent members to be a committee, to examine into the bearing of our Monetary laws on the interests of labour. Let the committee report to the general body ; and if the laws prove to be as pernicious as I have represented them to be, make a reform of these laws a leading point in any scheme for general reform, be it brought forward by Tory, Whig, Radical, or Chartist. Let each voter, when canvassed by a candidate for Parliamentary honours, pledge him to oppose the continuance of the Acts of 1844 and 1845, which deal unfairly with the interests of labour ; sacrificing the Labour interest to the Money interest, and making the rich, richer ; and the poor, poorer.

“ Should the candidate say that the subject of money was a difficult one, and, not understanding it, he should prefer to leave the laws as they were ; let him be told to offer himself again when he had studied the subject, and thereby qualified himself to legislate on the question of all others the most important to your welfare.

“ Do not suppose that he who is recommending this course does it for the purpose of paving the way for himself : his state of health precludes him from ever undertaking Parliamentary duties. His deep conviction alone of the incalculable misery produced by these



laws, prompts him to attempt to arouse your attention to their injustice and partiality.

“Finally, as the Bank of England will not listen to any reform of its Charter, you should take the bull by the horns, and call for the establishment of a National Bank of Issue, based on the principle of free trade in sound Currency, where all, on depositing two-thirds of the amount they require in Government Stocks, and one-third in gold, may have National Bank Notes, or Truck Tickets, payable in gold on demand, and made a legal tender; and return them when not wanted.

“Let the present Issue Department of the Bank of England be converted into a General Issue Department.

“Let National Bank Notes be issued against the Government Securities and gold deposited by the Bank of England, in lieu of Bank of England notes; and with these notes (bearing the Stamp of the State, equally with the coin, as a guarantee for the soundness of their quality) pay off the debt to the Bank, and emancipate the Government and the country from the thralldom of a Joint-Stock Company. By so doing, the National Debt would be reduced by the sum of £14,475,000, and an annual saving in interest be effected of £434,250, enabling the burden of taxation to be diminished to that extent. A National Bank note payable in gold on demand, is surely as good money as a Bank of England note payable in gold on demand.

“There is still another great power, besides that of the money power, with which you have to contend—the obstructive power of the ignorance which generally prevails, both as to the nature of money, and as to our laws respecting it. To these two causes may be attributed the supineness of Chambers of Commerce in general, to whose particular province the subject more especially belongs. To the same causes may be attributed the indifference of the members of the House of Commons (who, perhaps, in this matter fairly represent the apathy of their constituents); and without their support, what Ministers dare act? Ministers themselves are obliged to bow to this Money Power—to prostrate themselves before the idol which the Legislature has set up, and dare not upset—to pay court to the Directors of the Bank of England. On the other hand, you have to back you the House of Lords, who, being more independent of the money power, and (must we not acknowledge!) more

enlightened on this particular subject, declared emphatically through their Committee, which sat in 1848, that the Act of 1844 produced the panic of 1847 : and, were they now to appoint another Committee, would most undoubtedly come to the same conclusion as to the panic of 1857.

“ You will have further in your support our most gracious Queen, the personification of Justice herself, who, all must feel sure, will take the part of her injured subjects.

“ And, lastly, you have yourselves—the source of all political power – to rely upon, for breaking asunder the chains of the Money Power.

“ Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not

Who will be free, themselves must strike the blow ?”

“ Abolish the monopoly in Money, and the same necessity will no longer exist for you to emigrate, and to seek by banishment to a foreign land those necessities and comforts of life which you cannot find at home.

“ Let your cry be, Down with the monopoly in money, the curse of the country ! and hurrah for a National Bank of Issue, based on the principle of free trade, which shall take care of the quality of the currency, ensuring the convertibility of the Bank note, but leave the quantity to take care of itself !

“ Help yourselves, legally and morally, and God will help you.

“ Your sincere well-wisher,

“ HAMER STANSFIELD.”

## CHAPTER CHII.

ALL ATTEMPTS TO REDUCE THE NATIONAL DEBT ARE ANSWERED  
BY SUPERINDUCING PRETEXTS FOR WAR.

EVERY attempt to diminish our National Debt will prove abortive, so long as money is allowed to represent power, instead of allowing virtue to represent power, when combined

with prudential intelligence. The monetary interests do not intend to reduce the National Debt, because in doing so they would reduce their own incomes—however well advised the scheme to reduce it on principles of integrity was proved to be. Gladstone's last attempt instigated the Crimean war; then the *Times* triumphed in assuming the impracticability of reducing the National Debt, and Palmerston, the British belligerent, had to raise the hue-and-cry for war, in order to spend two hundred millions of money, by which it should appear to this sage John Bull that Gladstone's fiscal economy was impracticable, and so his financial plans should be abjured.

Why, we know, notwithstanding this strategical stroke of policy, that national debts can be reduced and paid off, when the authorities and powers of State really intend to do so in right good earnest. History furnishes us with a remarkable instance of the kind in the States of Holland, when in good earnest they meant to reduce their national debt:—"The benefit of reducing the interest, and properly employing the saving, as regards State debts, cannot be better exemplified than by the fact that the States of Holland discharged a debt of 140,000,000 guilders,\* by reducing the interest, and employing the yearly saving effected thereby, in *paying off the principal, which was accomplished in twenty years.*"†

In England, the will only is necessary to accomplish the same thing on a much larger scale; but this will we shall not have, because it is much too good a harvest to the millionaire money-jobber, as long as it is retained intact.

Reduce the interest of the debt honourably contracted, they will say, without mentioning one word upon the dishonourable part of the transaction, which now fully justifies a reduction of the interest, in order to apply the proceeds to the reduction of the debt. The millionaire has ever taken in the Government; now let the Government receive just retribution—not

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\* Nearly £14,000,000 sterling.

† "Interest of Holland," p. 466. Prize Essay, p. 813.

upon the principle of one wrong justifying another ; but upon the principle in strict accordance with First Principles, let the wrong-doer and the good-doer receive the reward of their own doings.

It is too often supposed that the progress of commerce is identical with warfare, as if there were no better sentiments in the hearts of men than the response of compulsion. For my part, I believe that warfare shuts out the entry of both the commercial and religious response of the will ; knowing enough of human nature to understand, that what a man concedes against his will is never a permanent concession, but will some day reverberate upon aggression in a twofold, if not in a tenfold, degree ; unless conciliatory measures are undertaken in time.

The navy and army of Great Britain arrogate to themselves the credit of having advanced commerce. Well, the army of Rome did the same ; and where is Rome now ? Greece did the same : where is Greece now ? Nimrod, Nineveh, Assyria, did the same : where is Nineveh now ? Sparta did the same : where is Sparta now ? These nations now, in a commercial relation, are nowhere.

Lord Elgin has done something in a different way, much more conciliatory, and more likely (if honestly carried out) to establish commerce *en permanence*.

Ways and means will present themselves (where there is the disposition) to establish commerce upon just principles, that need neither armies nor navies.

In twelve years England added to its incumbrance, in the way of National Debt, by means of armies and navies, £38,000,000, ending in the year 1714 ; but what did it benefit the progress of commerce ? Was there one redeeming feature in its having added to the progress of commerce, or in its having increased the wealth of the people ? The Government then, as in 1856, seemed only bent upon wild schemes, regardless of their destructive consequences.

The Money Article of the *Times*, by Sam Thick, will tell us, indirectly, that the Sinking Fund is a farce. Is there anything



else that journal will not say is wrong that is right? *Anguis in herba*. My good people of my country,—do not, of all things be *Times*-ridden, nor be ridden by me, nor by any one else; but measure all things by First Principles—by Christian principles—and by rightful actions thence proceeding.

The Sinking Fund *is a fact*, not a subterfuge. Render to all men the reward of their doings, whether for good or evil, in as merciful a way as can be found consistent with the enormity of their crime.

“The Sinking Fund, that had its foundation in 1717, from three special Acts, the ‘Aggregate,’ the ‘General,’ and the ‘South Sea’ Funds, had then assumed considerable importance; and if those whose province and most sacred duty it was, had punctually and faithfully carried out its object, the nation would not now groan under the weight of its present enormous debt. Instead of which, that Fund, which should ever have been inviolable, has been, both directly and indirectly, sacrilegiously and wantonly infringed.\*

“So successful had been the operation even thus early, that a portion of the National Debts had already been discharged to the amount of £2,698,416 9s. 7¾*d.*, and the Fund itself was estimated at £1,200,000 per annum; this, valued at 25 years’ purchase, at which all annuities were then sold, would have yielded a real profit to the public of £30,000,000; so that, with prudence and common honesty, the then debt might easily have been liquidated.”

The hoax, in asserting that the widows and orphans would suffer in their annuities, by having their interest reduced, and the Funds exterminated, is an idle fancy. *Bonâ fide* investments exist now without the Funds; and these said widows and deeds of trusts so intestated, form not the bulk, but merely the fragments, of the bondholders, who are more often plucked than benefited by Government securities.

A more comprehensive view was taken upon the merits of the National Debt during the reign of George II. than is even

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\* Prize Essay, Financial. *Pecunia obediunt omnia.*

recognized now. In 1749 an Act was passed for reducing the "Annuities." The Act recites:—"It being the united opinion of the King and Parliament, that nothing can so effectually contribute to make trade flourish as the *lessening the public debts and incumbrances*, consistent with justice and public faith."

Thus the National Debt was reduced by £5,137,612. But mark well, that precisely the same pretext was then raised for war as was raised when Gladstone had wisely attempted to save the country by reducing the National Debt; the Crimean war was then entered upon purposely, as were the hostile elements that were introduced when the Act was passed in 1749, to commence from the 25th of December, 1757. Just at this time the Sinking Fund, that promised so much, as did that of Gladstone's, was reduced to a dead letter by the war that was declared with France on May 18th, 1756. This war lasted seven years, ending by the Treaty of Paris, February 10th, 1763. The loans during this war amounted to £52,000,000; the expenses of the war were about £64,533,277.

Thus the National Debt rapidly increased, amounting to £146,982,844 at the end of this reign.

First Principles recognize everything that is useful, and, by the same line of action, *primo genito*, denounce everything useless; but my limits in this addition will not enable me to illustrate the fallacy of every dogma, nor have I space to prove all things by analogies, however cogent they may be. I will, therefore, only allude to the questionable policy of a metallic currency in a very brief way.

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## CHAPTER CIV.

## A METALLIC CURRENCY CONSIDERED.

THE Metallic Currency is very expensive : it cost Great Britain from 1696 to 1777, in minting and light guineas, £15,000,000.

	£	s.	d.
Expenses of the recoinage, for defraying the cost of coining the deficient money . .	105,227	8	3
Payment to the Bank for receiving light coins . . . . .	46,846	9	3
Extra expenses in the Mint . . . . .	22,824	19	0
Add the loss to the public, for which Parliament voted . . . . .	2,500,000	0	0
Showing how costly is a Metallic Currency	£2,674,828	16	6*

During the reign of King William alone our coinage expenses exceeded £3,000,000 sterling, which, accumulated at compound interest at four per cent., would have yielded in the course of a century £250,000,000 in money, and at five per cent. almost £400,000,000 in money.†

The cost of a metallic currency is also felt by the nation when it is exported abroad on account, not of exchange, but because other nations require either silver or gold : this has frequently been known to distress Great Britain. The fact illustrates the cost to this nation, when the Bank has been in apparent difficulty, which the nation has mistaken for a real difficulty ; for on such occasions the Bank is authorized by Government to suspend bullion payment. This relieves the Bank from the difficulty, but not the people ; since the monetary men profit by the transaction, they holding the bullion, but not the people, who want it in circulation.

In 1797 the continued drain of bullion raised the price of

\* Prize Essay, Financial.

† Sir John Sinclair.

gold to 84s. per ounce, the Mint price being only 77s. 10½*d.*; it thus became evident that the currency of the realm, almost entirely gold, would soon be carried abroad. To avert this, the Bank was authorized to suspend cash or bullion payments.

This suspension saves the Bank, but not the people—not the needy, but the affluent. But for this metal currency, the inconvenience would not be felt by the people, most certainly; but the Bank would feel it as certainly, if the Government grant were not made authorizing suspension of cash payments.

The Bank is allowed to issue notes when it is in danger, as it did in 1797, when £1 and £2 notes were made the substitute for British guineas; also, when the Letter of Credit was granted in 1857. But not so with the responsible people; their difficulties are not legislated for—their contingency still remains unredressed—while the Bank immunities are still enjoyed.

Again, the suspension of cash payments protected the Bank in 1795, which was only to have lasted fifty-two days, but was found to have had duration twenty-two years, really lasting to the year 1819, during which the paper currency was abused by the monetary men and merchants, till the precious metals were made to disappear, as in 1857; commercial distress was on both epochs very general, and seriously damaging to honest enterprise. The National Debt had more than doubled itself, then reaching the amount of £413,140,832, which soon doubled itself again during the *twenty-two years*, to the great advantage of money-jobbers, for they could then job on £800,000,000 instead of half the amount, which was just what they wanted: they had made metals precious and paper abundant for Government purposes, in order to swell the debt.

The impracticability of a Metallic Currency in conjunction with a Paper Currency will be seen in the whole of the history of the National Debt. A mixed currency, together with a National Debt, will ever open up a field for money-jobbers, at the expense of the king and the people.

There is, however, great difficulty in regulating a paper circulating medium, unless great care be taken to base the issue upon solid and indisputable property. May the day not come



when gold shall not represent an unfluctuating metal, by which it may render itself less calculated to be retained as a standard of representative value even.

In order not to form a bias by any of my remarks, I furnish brief abstracts from the excellent authority of Sir John Sinclair, and so leave the Metallic Currency in his hands :—

## ON CIRCULATION AND COIN ;

### AND THE MEANS OF ARRESTING THE PROGRESS OF OUR PUBLIC CALAMITIES.

The new light, which the experience of modern times has thrown on the principles of circulation and coin, if now acted upon, would probably still relieve us from many of the difficulties to which we are unfortunately subject. It would require a volume to detail these principles at length. I shall endeavour to compress them within the narrowest possible compass, and under distinct heads, or maxims.

#### 1. *The power and prosperity of a nation, and the amount of its public revenue, principally depend upon an abundant circulation.*

This, till of late, was never so uncontrovertibly proved, but cannot now be questioned. On the foundation of an abundant circulation, we were enabled to pay enormous taxes—to borrow sums beyond all former example—to carry on for a series of years the most extensive wars—to subsidize the greater part of the Governments of Europe—and to resist, and ultimately to conquer, the greatest and most formidable power that modern times has produced ; and yet our agriculture, our commerce, and our manufactures, instead of being injured by such exertions, never were in so flourishing a state. What a miserable reverse has taken place since our circulation became less abundant ! If it continues deficient, can our revenue be productive, or the means of our public expenditure be supplied ?

#### 2. *It is of no consequence of what that circulation consists, provided it is accredited.*

This maxim is likewise incontestably proved by recent experience. All the great advantages above enumerated were effected “ *by a*

*circulation in paper, not convertible into coin :*" and though Bank notes continue to be our medium of circulation, so far from being depreciated, they are now at a premium. Can there be a stronger proof of the solidity of a paper circulation when established on proper principles?

3. *The best proof of a sufficiency of circulation, is a moderate rate of interest.*

This cannot be too strongly inculcated, and it is easily attainable where a paper circulation exists ; for it can be multiplied, *on the foundation of solid property*, until interest is reduced to four, or, at the utmost, five per cent., which it ought never to exceed. A higher rate of interest is a bar to every species of public improvement, and must be the source of infinite distress.

4. *A paper circulation, however advantageous, ought to represent solid property.*

This maxim has not hitherto been attended to in this country to the extent that it ought, and thence much mischief has arisen. Persons without property have been permitted to issue notes, and to force a circulation by means of fraudulent practices. The consequences which must result from such a baseless fabric were foreseen and distinctly pointed out, *but in vain*. Hence thousands have suffered materially, and multitudes have been entirely ruined, by the bankruptcy of issuers of country notes. Thence, also, a slur has been thrown on the system of paper circulation, to which, under proper regulations, it is not liable. It would not be difficult to point out means adequate to prevent that fraudulent circulation, which has a tendency to give an inordinate value to the price of commodities, and in many other respects is so prejudicial.

5. *A paper circulation ought to be kept within due limits.*

On this principle it is of great importance to have notes issued, either by opulent corporations, or by private individuals of undoubted solidity, *and not by the State*. A paper circulation can be kept within due bounds, which has never been the case, when issued in the name of the public. The ruinous effects of Government issues form the principal objection to a paper circulation, but in this country it has been fortunately obviated by the system we have hitherto pursued.

6. *A metallic circulation, instead of enriching, impoverishes a country.*

*This is a modern discovery*, and one of a most important description. In barbarous times, nothing can pass as a medium of circulation that is not of *intrinsic value*, because credit or confidence do not exist, and no man will part with property without having its actual value delivered to him in return. But when once society is established on a solid foundation, if the buyer gives to the seller *representative value* for any commodity the latter parts with—for instance, if paper money is received in payment of the taxes imposed by the Government, or any debt due to an individual, or if it will purchase any article wanted—it is to the seller fully as useful, and in many respects more convenient (more especially in regard to large sums), than if the payment had been made in the precious metals. The circulation of paper not convertible into coin, is indeed the most important of all political discoveries. If coin be used, it must be purchased from foreign countries, unless by those who have mines of the precious metals at their command. If fifty millions of gold and silver must be employed in circulation, the country is to that amount impoverished, without any real necessity. The metals must be bought, but they cannot be sold or exported without cramping the circulation, and doing infinite mischief; consequently, they cannot be accounted *available wealth*.

7. *A circulation of coin, except for smaller payments, is not necessary for internal commerce.*

This is evidently proved by the experience of the Chinese, the most numerous and most commercial nation in the universe. The precious metals are by them considered merely as merchandize; and when foreign coins are imported into China, they are immediately converted into ingots of silver, and what are called *shoes of gold*. Small payments are made in a kind of money, consisting of six parts copper and four parts lead, which is not coined, but cast with a square hole in the middle, by means of which it is carried about, like beads, on a string or wire.

In this country it is ascertained, by our own experience, that a moderate quantity of silver and copper answers every necessary purpose.

8. *A circulation in coin is not necessary for foreign exchanges.*

The solidity of this maxim is proved by recent experience. The rate of exchange depends upon the balance of payments among the commercial nations, and those who deal in exchange find no difficulty in adjusting that rate, whatever may be the nature of the circulation in any particular country.

9. *A circulation in coin, so far as it may be judged necessary, ought not to occasion any expense to Government.*

The only use of metallic currency is to act as a medium of barter ; and when the transaction takes place, it is of no consequence whether the coin delivered is exactly of the estimated weight, provided it will pass from one individual to another at its nominal value. Hence the silver tokens issued by the Bank answer the purpose of circulation as well as if they had been of standard value, and any issues in gold ought to be on the same principle—namely, as tokens, and not as coin. Any attempt to keep up the value of coin at its full purity and standard of weight is productive of infinite trouble and expense, the coin being immediately melted down, when, from the price of the metal, it furnishes even a moderate profit. As a proof how much a circulation in coin impoverishes a nation, it may be stated as an undoubted fact, that *the expenses we have been at for coining since the Revolution in 1690, if accumulated at compound interest at 5 per cent., would have paid five hundred millions of 3 per cents., at the average price of £70 in money per £100 stock.* What proof can be more decisive of the absurdity of a contrary system ?

10. *Silver coin is a better basis or unit for computation than gold.*

The standard, or basis of computation, ought always to be in the metal that is the most abundant, being the least liable to change. Gold being the scarcest, and containing the greatest value in the smaller bulk, is apt to be hoarded in times of alarm ; and hence its value increases so much as to render it unfit to be a permanent standard. Silver is preferable ; for, though it varies, it does not, as will afterwards be proved, vary to the same extent.

11. *Tokens or coins in circulation ought to be in decimal proportions to each other.*

This maxim is adopted in France with great advantage. The



franc, a nominal value, equal to about tenpence English, is assumed as the basis or unit of all their computations; and all values are reckoned upwards by tens, hundreds, and thousands of francs, and downwards by tenth parts and hundredth parts of francs. In this country the shilling, if coined worth ten copper pence, might answer the same purpose; and the system would be complete, if our gold coin contained the value of twenty shillings in silver instead of twenty-one.

12. *It is incumbent on the Government of a country, in times of difficulty, to support the commercial and agricultural interests by public loans.*

There is no circumstance in the course of an active and eventful life which, on recollection, furnishes me with more real satisfaction than having been the happy instrument of prevailing on Government to issue loans for the benefit of the commercial interest; and if the same measure had recently been taken for the support of our agricultural as well as commercial interests, many of the distresses we now experience would have been prevented. The plan has already been tried thrice, and has never failed to produce the most beneficial consequences. It appears, indeed, from the reports of the several Commissioners under whose direction the business was conducted, that it was attended, instead of by loss, with a pecuniary profit to Government; and that the effects of such issues in restoring credit and confidence were immediate and most extensive, whilst no possible disadvantage has ever been attributed to, or could possibly arise from, them. Indeed, after giving loans and subsidies to so many foreign nations, why not subsidize ourselves?

It is unnecessary to add, that in the distressed state to which we are reduced, no substantial relief can be derived from *palliatives merely*; some great measures, such as the one above alluded to—some *coups d'état* adequate to subdue the evils which have arisen, and to prevent their increasing—ought speedily to be adopted, otherwise we shall feel our dearest interests most fatally affected.

Such are the general principles of circulation and coin, according to modern improvements. To the solidity of these principles, the intelligent, practical statesman cannot refuse his assent, since they are sanctioned by the experience of this great country, during the most critical period that perhaps any nation ever brought to a suc-

cessful conclusion. Indeed, if the public were to borrow money, and to lend it afterwards to carry on useful works, as roads, canals, harbours, &c., the poor, who might otherwise be tempted to acts of violence, would be furnished with the means of subsistence.

*Important Fact.*

The following statement proves the great superiority of silver over gold (being subject to the least variation), as a permanent standard of value :—

1. Lowest price of silver and gold since 1792-3 :

1793. 28 June. Dollars, 4s. 10½ <i>d.</i> per oz.	5s. per oz. standard.
Bar Gold, £3 17s. 6 <i>d.</i> per oz.	standard.

2.—Highest prices for the same period :

1813. 6 August. Ports, 111 <i>s.</i> per oz.	to standard.
Dollars, 7 <i>s.</i> 0½ <i>d.</i> per oz.	7 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per oz. standard.
Bar Silver, 7 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> per oz.	standard.
21 Oct. Doubloons, 111 <i>s.</i> per oz.	116 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per oz. standard.

Advance on dollars, from the lowest to the highest price, 44·8 per cent. ; if calculated on standard silver, about 1 per cent. more.

Advance on standard gold, calculating on the price of doubloons, at 111*s.* per oz., 50·64. per cent.

Hence the difference in favour of silver over gold, as an invariable standard, is 6·55 per cent. ; a fact which ought to put that question for ever at rest.

## CHAPTER CV.

### HEADS ON WHICH ALTERATIONS MIGHT BE MADE.

GRAPPLE with the greatest burden of the country—the National Debt. Let the issue of the country bear a profit to the revenue, not to the Bank of England. Also, to meet this nightmare of our existence, a source of relief must be found equal to the magnitude of the difficulty. The Land-tax, then, which has

only yielded £1,214,430, and which I have shown, in my preceding remarks, to have been exempted from the increased taxes which would have fallen upon it according to its growing value, has only paid 4s. in the pound, according to the Act of the 38th of George III., which fixed for ever the levying of the Land-tax at the rate of the collection in William III.'s time: never was a grosser insult offered to the common sense of a country—never was any act more illegal and fraudulent; because all the original Acts up to the 9th of William III., or of 1697, had most clearly enacted, that the tax should be levied *bonâ fide* “on the *growing value of all lands*,” and, what is still better defined, the very words of the Act declare that according to “the *full yearly value thereof, without any respect had to present rents reserved for the same.*” Now, if these unscrupulous statesmen dared to annul such a clear and lucidly-defined Act as this, and substitute that which evaded the original object of the Act, it becomes imperative in us to restore the original Act, that the tax shall be levied on the *full yearly and present improved value of all lands*, which will be found to have yielded an amount of £18,962,119 16s., according to the return made in 1842-43. The ownerships of lands then amounted to £94,810,599, having now much increased in value; since the year 1815 to the amount of £34,680,269. This will form at once a great item in the reduction of the National Debt, or the taxation on industry.

The Land-tax in all other countries but England, forms the stable and greatest part of the revenue. In France, out of £40,700,000 taxes, £23,200,000 was the proceeds of the Land and Property-tax. Even in that despotic country, Russia, out of £7,657,000 taxes, £3,990,000 is raised out of the Land and Property-tax. In Austria, out of £16,495,000 taxes, £8,795,000 is paid by the Land and Property-tax. But England, which once boasted of its glorious constitution, out of £52,248,594 taxes in 1842, pays by the Land-tax only £1,214,430. England has a tax on produce, and popular industry, and on transfer of personal property, upon which the entailed landed proprietors, by descent, shifted it from their

shoulders on to the personal property holders, amounting to £7,000,000.

Now, in despotic countries, even where they make no show of popular government, they have never had the infamous daring to tax themselves less than they tax the people. English statesmen have, through our indifference, been allowed to commit this and so many other frauds with impunity, that there is now no bounds to their mercenary acts. The above calculation proves that they tax the people, that cannot afford it, more than they tax themselves, that can well afford to pay.

England, with her constitutional government, is so far behind other countries as to justice in taxation, that she must now learn of despots how to be honest. Yea, so low has she fallen in the scale of political justice, that a horde of banditti, or a corps of brigands, might blush at her infamy. It is not astonishing, then, that the wealthy are growing and increasing in riches, while they cast the burden of the taxes upon commerce and working men; while offices under Government maintain their oligarchic children. The trick of primogeniture has never been understood nor impugned by tradesmen; while capital by millions is withdrawn from commerce, producing panics and stagnations in trade, swelling our *Gazette*; men breaking and falling, dragging others after them; credit paralyzed, and confidence no more. Amid all this, the aristocrats' enormous estates—the money-lenders', bankers', and stock-brokers'—are increasing in value daily; exempted as they are from the taxes—fed as they are with rich supplies of place and pension. These owners of capital and of estates have grown to be so vast and affluent, that some of them are estimated at eight, eleven, and fourteen millions each.

Is it too much to say, then, that they are the vultures of the earth—the devouring cormorants of English labour? And that while the people have been diligent, frugal, and persevering—commercially pre-eminent and exemplary, generous and honourable, as a trading nation; yet, as a confiding people, they have been deceived by their own guardians, whom they entrusted with the management of their common stores, which



guardians have greedily consumed and wasted them ; and by such enormities in legislation, such as never should take place in any country, this has brought starvation, misery, and commercial distress in a land of plenty.

The infamy and unparalleled effrontery of this exemption in the Land-tax becomes more striking as we look at the increase of all the other taxations. All other sources of taxes have grown and have been allowed to grow rapidly ; but by this unprincipled and dishonest Act of 1798 the Land-tax is fixed to the annual sum of £1,214,430, while all other sources have not been fixed, but have grown to crushing amounts : the Customs to £23,500,000 ; the Excise to £14,500,000 ; and the Miscellaneous to nearly £11,500,000. (See the present amounts.) Also, that all real property shall henceforth be included in the Probate and Legacy duties, must not be forgotten by a Government based upon First Principles.

Pitt, in 1798, brought into Parliament two Legacy and Probate Duty Bills—the one on real, the other on personal property. That on personal property readily passed the Houses ; that on real property was carried in the Commons by one vote—the Speaker's. The Minister was informed, and that through the medium of his own secretary, “that if he persisted in carrying it through the Upper House, he would cease to be Prime Minister of England.”\* The aristocrats would not then tax, nor have they since taxed themselves ; and England lost £300,000,000, with the interest added to it.

But what was Pitt doing that he dared not pass it to the Upper House ? Why did not Pitt dare to be honest ? Why was Pitt intimidated in doing an honest act, by the fear of losing his place ? Why was Pitt's place of greater consequence to him than his country ? Had Pitt been a thorough-going patriot, he would not have compromised his principle, and that, too, at the very threshold of success. I do assert this, that not the smallest admiration would I give to a statesman who does not dare to be honest, from the fear of losing his place. If we

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\* Hampden's “Aristocracy of England,” p 246.

are made of any stuff worth having, we are emboldened by virtue; and if we are not emboldened by honesty and virtue, we are working for a wrong master, and the sooner we change places the better. A member of parliament has no right to take a seat in that house unless he be ready to give it up the instant the cause of virtue suffers by his retaining it. This very love of place, this very fear of losing it, has been the curse of our nation, the very fatality which has rendered inert all our reform movements. Lord John Russell is a lamentable specimen of this fact. Why did he not support the Bill for a reduction of taxation by ten millions? Because he knew he should lose his place if he did. Did he hold it, therefore, in dishonour to himself? He had better be a tinker than hold office under such base sufferance. But it may be said, he had better hold office in order to keep a worse man out. This is another species of fear and successful intimidation on the part of both Tories and Whigs: I have always seen they have played the same game; the only difference is the Whigs have professed more than the Tories; but I would prefer the old system, *similia similibus curantur*, before I would accept the intervention of the Whigs: had we given the Tories rope enough, they would have hung themselves long before now. Taxation would have cured itself by its glaring excess; but these fawning Whigs, who are Tories in grain, have stepped in and infatuated us with dazzling expectations, giving us an infinitesimal slice of Reform, with a large share of hopeful promises for more—as soon as we can get it.

I am quite aware it will be said that the general public, and ultimately labour, will have to pay the tax placed upon land—also that the interest on land is only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. often; but the original grant of that land must be first considered. The military tenure on it no longer exists, which was the condition upon which the land was granted. The tenant paying it would be no more just than for him to pay his lord's income-tax or his tailor's bill. An honest legislature could well interdict the extra demand upon the tenant, as it does now upon cab drivers; but we must first "catch" the honest statesman.

As landed property changes hands, it is increased in value

generally. This arises out of scarcity of land and abundance of population. Land will always increase in price under such circumstances. That is a natural result, not the effect produced by a legislature altogether; but if two shillings in the pound be placed on land as a tax, and the landlord places that amount, or an equivalent to it, on his rental, that can be seen to be an effect produced by another cause than that of sale and purchase. This can be interdicted by law, as is done already in other cases. Again, it will be said this is an infringement upon the rights of property; to enforce a tax and not allow it to be charged on the property is an anomaly. Again I answer, landed property has a right to be treated differently from all other property, on account of the military tenure which accompanied the grant, but which tenure is unfairly shifted from land; the amount of the tax it should bear is placed directly upon labour, through the means of Customs and Excise duties, &c. This is the fraud committed by the landed legislators; they should now be made to pay the penalty of such fraud, by way of a land-tax not chargeable to the tenant.

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## CHAPTER CVI.

### RULERS MUST BE GOOD AS GREAT.

It has been beautifully expressed by the ministers and representatives of the New Church, at the tenth General Assembly of Germany and Switzerland, held at Stutgard, September 6th, 1857:—

“We declare it to be our belief, that no man can be blessed himself, except so far as he strives to impart blessings to others, and hence, that a generous brotherly recognition of the rights of others, especially of full freedom of faith and practice, is the

grand law of Providence for individual regeneration, for social happiness, and for national advancement.

"We desire to press it, therefore, on the attention of all mankind, that they should serve one another in love, especially in the promotion of their dearest rights, irrespective of creed, caste, or colour, in the full faith that this ordinance of Heaven can only result in good. Thus will the families of the earth become promoters of each other's improvements and happiness, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever. Thus will the whole of the human race truly realize glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."

The efforts of all men should be directed towards humbling the proud aristocrat, who boasts of his noble blood only, that lineage from a Danish barbarian or a Norman plunderer, with a bar sinister across his escutcheon, as if, having nothing in himself to recommend him, he falls back upon his ancestors, imagining the country as ignorant as himself of the murderous race from whence he sprang. If black and evil deeds of the meanest character entitle him to anything noble, it must be *ignoble*; and until they now learn to be just in government, they are ignoble in the widest sense of the term; and let that henceforth be the prefix, until they merit the better name.

The past might be overlooked, were men learning to be in the quality of good, rather than in the pride of greatness. I, notwithstanding, prefer the proud aristocrat before the proud banking, jobbing millionaire.

The Anglo-Saxons are yet the honest men of England, the ennobled soul, and the generous heart; the honest, active, and energetic spirit of the nation is yet to be found amongst the industrious and the merchants, not with the money-jobber. Can the Houses of Lords or Commons boast of greater statesmen than Sir Robert Peel was? than John Bright, Cobden, Roebuck, Gladstone or Disraeli, for their talent, now are? Let good and noble deeds alone acquire for the statesman that fame which chivalry of old acquired. He shall then be the noble man of



an intelligent era, of a new race; in him virtue must be the incentive and the desire to fulfil the aspirations of mankind. Such should be the rulers.

The reduction in the army and navy, and ordinance office, to what they were in 1836, *i.e.*, £12,125,712; in 1848, £18,209,852; the amount to be economized, £5,214,364.

By making this reduction, there will not be the slightest diminution in the efficiency of these departments, any more than there was in 1836, when we made £12,125,712 do well.

The abolition of sinecures in part; amount to accrue from it, £141,837, to be retained during life; showing the amount to cease at death, £325,508.

Sinecures.	To be abolished in part during Life.			To cease at Death.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Abergavenny, Earl of, compensation allowance for loss of the office of Inspector of Prosecutions, the amount of 1,345 <i>l.</i> to cease at once	772	10	0 ...	772	10	0
Amherst, Earl of, pension on Consolidated Fund, two-thirds off 3,000 <i>l.</i> to cease at once . . . . .	2000	0	0 ...	1000	0	0
Auckland, Lord, pension on Consolidated Fund, half off 2000 <i>l.</i> . . . .	1000	0	0 ...	1000	0	0
Bexley, Lord, Old Vansittart, two-thirds off 3000 <i>l.</i> . . . .	2000	0	0 ...	1000	0	0
Burke, Edmund, representative of, pension on Consolidated Fund, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1340 <i>l.</i> . . . .	740	0	0 ...	600	0	0
Beresford, J. C., compensation for loss of office of Joint Storekeeper in the Irish Customs, 3000 <i>l.</i> off 4315 <i>l.</i> . . . .	3000	0	0 ...	1315	0	0
Burrard, Rev. G., compensation for loss of office of Searcher of Customs, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1100 <i>l.</i> . . . .	600	0	0 ...	500	0	0
Bullock, A. C., late Chief Clerk in the Treasury, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1200 <i>l.</i> . . . .	600	0	0 ...	600	0	0
Bates, E., late Secretary of Taxes, half off 1370 <i>l.</i> . . . .	685	0	0 ...	685	0	0

Sinecures.	To be abolished in part during Life.			To cease at Death.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Bidwell, Thomas, late Chief Clerk of Foreign office, half off 1396 <i>l.</i> . . .	698	0	0	698	0	0
Buller, J., late Commissioner of Customs, half off 1100 <i>l.</i> . . .	550	0	0	550	0	0
Whole columns of such people who were well paid for doing little, are now paid for doing nothing. We leave them, and notice only a few particular cases.						
Cowper, Earl of, hereditary pension for his ancestor marrying the heiress of General Auverkerque, of King William's time, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1600 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	1000	0	0	600	0	0
Colchester, Lord, hereditary pension for services of his father, who held sinecures, and was censured by Parliament for such services, 1000 <i>l.</i> off 3000 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	2000	0	0	1000	0	0
Canning, Viscount, pension on account of his father, a Tory trimmer, 1000 <i>l.</i> off 3000 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	2000	0	0	1000	0	0
Carr, Hon. Jane, on Consolidated Fund, salary 700 <i>l.</i> off 2000 <i>l.</i> . . .	1300	0	0	700	0	0
Croker, Right Hon. John Wilson, a placeman, who has held the most profitable offices, 600 off 1500 <i>l.</i> . .	900	0	0	600	0	0
Ellis, Right Hon. H., Consolidated Fund, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1400 <i>l.</i> . . . .	800	0	0	600	0	0
Fagil, Baron, Consolidated Fund, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1026 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	526	0	0	500	0	0
Fullarton, J., and Garth, T., moiety of Earl of Bath's hereditary pen- sion (the chief services of Bath, better known as the Whig Pulteney, were, helping to pass the Septen- nial Act, and giving up patriotism for place, power, and title), 500 <i>l.</i> off 1200 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	700	0	0	500	0	0

Sinecures.	To be abolished in part during Life.			To cease at Death.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Grafton, Duke of, hereditary pension out of the Excise Revenue, 7200 <i>l.</i> , Post-office, 3384 <i>l.</i> —1500 <i>l.</i> off 10,584 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	9084	0	0	1500	0	0
Glenelg, Lord, on Consolidated Fund, 600 <i>l.</i> off 2000 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	1400	0	0	600	0	0
Gifford, Lord, a lawyer, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1202 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	702	0	0	500	0	0
Grady, H. Deane, once Counsel to the Board of Irish Excise, for which he was well paid, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1333 <i>l.</i> 6s. 8d.	833	6	8	600	0	0
Harrison, J., compensation for loss of office of Post Master, Dublin, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1207 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	607	0	0	600	0	0
Herries, Right Hon. J. C., compensa- tion for loss of office as Commissary- in-Chief, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1350 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	750	0	0	600	0	0
Hobhouse, J. C., late Secretary of State, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1000 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	500	0	0	500	0	0
Lushington, Right Hon. S. R., on Consolidated Fund, 780 <i>l.</i> off 1500 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	900	0	0	700	0	0
Manchester, Duke of, loss of office as Collector of Customs outwards, held by the late Duke, 928 <i>l.</i> off 2928 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	2000	0	0	928	0	0
Mecklenburgh Strelitz, Prince of, on Consolidated Fund of Ireland. (This foreigner, doing us no good, nor any service, let it all cease) .	1788	0	0			
Marlborough, Duke of, hereditary pension out of Post-office revenue, 1000 <i>l.</i> off 4000 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	3000	0	0	1000	0	0
Mayo, Earl of, pension as Chairman of the Committees of the once Irish House of Lords, 600 <i>l.</i> off 1290 <i>l.</i> 11s. 8d. . . . .	690	11	8	600	0	0

Sinecures.	To be abolished in part during Life.			To cease at Death.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
McClintock, John, compensation for loss of offices in the Irish House of Commons, 760 <i>l.</i> off 2450 <i>l.</i> .	1750	0	0 ...	700	0	0
Penn, Granville, on Consolidated Fund, 1000 <i>l.</i> off 4000 <i>l.</i> .	3000	0	0 ...	1000	0	0
Planta, Right Hon. Joseph, ditto, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1500 <i>l.</i> .	1000	0	0 ...	500	0	0
Perceval, Spencer, ditto, 700 <i>l.</i> off 2700 <i>l.</i> .	2000	0	0 ...	700	0	0
Price, as late Compiler of <i>Dublin</i> <i>Gazette</i> , 590 <i>l.</i> off 1590 <i>l.</i> .	1000	0	0 ...	590	0	0
Schomberg, heir of the Duke of an- other of King William's favourites, out of Post-office revenue, 800 <i>l.</i> off 2800 <i>l.</i> .	2000	0	0 ...	800	0	0
Seymour, Lord, as late Chairman to Board of Excise, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1500 <i>l.</i> .	1000	0	0 ...	500	0	0
Seymour, Lord Henry, compensation for loss of office of Craner and Wharfinger of Port Dublin, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1251 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> .	1251	11	8 ...	500	0	0
Trotter, James, late Storekeeper- General, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1100 <i>l.</i> .	600	0	0 ...	500	0	0
Wilson, G., as late Commissioner of Customs, 500 <i>l.</i> off 1050 <i>l.</i> .	500	0	0 ...	550	0	0
Willemot, T., as late Collector of Customs, 700 <i>l.</i> off 1760 <i>l.</i> .	1060	0	0 ...	700	0	0
Wellington, Duke of, pension 4000 <i>l.</i> , with pay and other sinecure offices, 2000 <i>l.</i> off 8916 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> .	6916	16	3 ...	2000	0	0

In allowing such reduced amounts as these to remain for life, I consider the country would be exceedingly liberal. I will now give Hampden's own remarks on these daring robberies:—"This is pretty well, but this is but a mere sample; the whole list of such things makes a book—the most extraordinary book in the world. There is no instance in the history of the earth



of a nation (there never will be another) which has suffered the vultures of the aristocracy to fix themselves so openly, audaciously, and relentlessly upon it, picking its flesh to the very bone. John Bull fat! He ought to be drawn as a living skeleton, with a thousand hungry cormorants hovering over his devoted head. If one could laugh at anything so serious, we certainly should do it at the barefaced impudence with which this race of cormorants has quartered itself on John, and at the idiotic unconsciousness with which he has allowed them to feast on and drink his very life's-blood. Their robbery they have formed into a system, and then have coolly declared it a right—'a vested right'—that name for the foulest of all wrongs; a wrong so shameless, that, if a man claim a vested right, he ought at once to be hanged up as a traitor to his country."\*

Sinecures.	To be abolished in part during Life.			To cease at Death.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Pensions to foreign loyalists, to be abolished altogether . . . . .	38,914	0	0	...		
Pensions for ex-Ambassadors, per year, three-fourths to be taken off— <i>i.e.</i> , 8000 off 34,048, all to cease at death . . . . .	26,041	0	0	...		
King of Hanover, 500 <i>l.</i> off 2000 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	1500	0	0	...	500	0 0
William's Dutch favourites, 2000 <i>l.</i> off 7323 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	5323	0	0	...	2000	0 0
Duke of St. Albans, just dead. Let us have no more Grand Falconers at 1372 <i>l.</i> , nor hereditary Regis- trars at 640 <i>l.</i> ; together, 2012 <i>l.</i> . . . . .	2012	0	0	...		
Duke of Grafton, in addition to 10,584 <i>l.</i> ; receiving, as Hereditary Sealer in King's Bench, 500 <i>l.</i> off 2888 <i>l.</i> (See recent investment) . . . . .	2388	0	0	...	500	0 0
Next, reduce the offices of Government, such as the Lord						

\* Hampden's "Aristocracy of England," p. 229.

Chancellor, whose salary is £10,000, and the Speakership of the House of Lords, &c., £5000, making £15,000; £5000 for which in all would be liberal, and would save the country £10,000. Other excessively paid offices, such as the Chief Justices, with their £8000 each; Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, £7000; Master of Rolls, £7000; Governor of Bengal, £25,000; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, £20,000; the Secretaries of State—Colonial and Home Offices—£5000 each; about sixty offices altogether, in a list of excessively and ridiculously paid salaries, enough to spoil and unfit any men for work. However willing we should be to encourage industry, too much pay is as bad as too little; the consequence of which is, they are *too well paid to work, and they all want so many secretaries and under-secretaries to do all the work, which again creates more offices*, and all their servants have to be paid over again by Government.

These sixty flagrantly extravagant offices, amounting to £290,045, can well bear to be reduced £200,000, leaving the £90,045, which will be found liberal, and amply sufficient for the honest and industrious; and if these same gentlemen do not like it, let them resign, that honest and active men may take their places.

Are not tradesmen giving, and have they not given, their sons educations good enough to be Lord Chancellors, and Vice-Chancellors, and Lords of the Treasury, or Chief Barons, or Secretaries of State? Why is it that we merchants have not the love for our children that the aristocrats exhibit towards theirs, at least externally, in this respect? Why do we yet give birth to our children, who, as they grow into intelligence, have to discover that they are but vassals—commercial menials—who are to aspire, not to the loftier positions of the nation, but are to live to learn, to know their own degradation and inferiority—to cringe and to feel themselves less than what—than the aristocracy; less than men who have perjured themselves—sold themselves and their country's hard earnings for their own base ends? Yes; read the blue books and history, and judge for yourself. Am I to bring up my children to be

such poor grovelling worms, and to teach them to hold down their heads, and revere the crimes of extortion, rapine, and profligacy? to men who even now yearly rob us, and who have not even stopped short here, but have robbed the Crown, the Church itself, and even the poor?

Glance your eye over the history of Henry VIII. and his minions, if you think this language is too strong. The poor were not only robbed, but murdered for being poor, which I have elsewhere shown. Look at that of Charles I. and II., and James II. also.

No! Rather than be fettered to such a conventionality and perversion—to such a substitution of wrong for right—I would take my family to dwell among the aborigines of Australia, and thus shut them out of the very atmosphere of corruption, lest they should catch the contagion. If I did not consider my country capable of reclamation, I would leave it. But catch the contagion our sons will, if we are not up and doing at once; human nature has tendencies to do wrong rather than right, and there are not wanting lofty men to set them bad examples. By this demoralizing contagion, England will ere long become a nation of thieves and robbers, instead of ranking as great and honourable among the nations of the earth. Are not our Stock Exchange jobberies fast teaching the whole nation to speculate without capital and buy without paying, by introducing these *time-bargains*—teaching us betting and gambling to a fearful extent?

To the uninitiated in Stock Exchange transactions, the subject of “Differences” has something mysterious about it; but to those who are familiar with speculative transactions, it is clearly understood, and forms a very important feature in Stock Exchange dealings. Unlike any other business, Stock Exchange speculations consist in what are called “time-bargains;” that is, buying and selling for some future day at a given price. The mere fact of thus buying and selling would not at all signify, if a man sold what he possessed; but unfortunately the speculator on the Stock Exchange too frequently sells what he does not possess, and in many cases he is not at all particular as to the

amount. Mr. Parkins, an auctioneer, whose affairs are placed in bankruptcy, is opposed by Mr. Charles Lyne, a stockbroker, who puts in a proof for a debt of £373. The bankrupt's debts amount to £751, without any available assets; yet he employs a broker to enter into the purchase or sale of consols to the amount of £40,000 to £50,000! The point contended for by the broker was, that he was entitled to proof for the amount of brokerage £25, and £75 for what is called the "option," or the right to demand the delivery of stock at a future day; and as Mr. Lyne did not demand the delivery, he had to pay the "difference." Mr. Lyne was of course only doing what is done every day—he was acting for another. Mr. Parkins "anticipated a rise;" but he, like many others, was disappointed, and he leaves his broker in the lurch. Had Mr. Parkins been successful in his anticipations, he might have been a gainer, and then the tables would have been turned. Speculations of this kind are highly objectionable, and productive of an immense amount of evil. We are aware that time and custom have given to these transactions a degree of legitimacy which is very questionable. We should be glad to know upon what principle a man has a right to sell £10,000 consols without being possessed of a shilling, any more than a butcher should attempt to sell a customer a leg of mutton when it is very doubtful if he can obtain one. The fact is, "time-bargains" are a myth, a delusion, and an abuse of legitimate transactions. It is owing to them that financial panics assume a degree of importance which could not occur if the sale and purchase of securities were of a *bond fide* character. By such speculations, a host of needy adventurers are continually raising some false report in the markets for public securities. It was this species of speculation which brought on the panic last year in New York, until the originators were caught in their own net; for they had so "Beared" the market, that there was no getting back again; and it was found necessary to pass a law, compelling speculators in "time bargains" to be responsible for the payment of their "differences." If a similar law were passed in this country, it



would be very salutary; and would put a stop to the gambling transactions which have become so prevalent amongst men whose time would be much more profitably and honourably employed in attending to legitimate occupations. As the law now stands, such transactions are pronounced illegal by Sir John Barnard's Act of 1732. It was then thought that by the fact of rendering such bargains illegal, men would hesitate before entering into them; but the case is wholly changed now, and the best corrective of the evil would be, that they who enter into such transactions should be compelled to *pay* for their folly or cupidity; but it would be far better to do away with "time-bargains" altogether, because it is nothing more nor less than a system of gambling. Stockbrokers would then stand on solid ground, and be justly entitled to be paid for their services.

The point raised by the Commissioner was, whether these "differences" arising from "time-bargains" could be admitted as proof of claims in bankruptcy. We should say not; for in that case the legitimate creditors to an estate might be entirely swamped by proofs of this sort, where a man was addicted to a reckless system of gambling. It is a well-known fact, that "time-bargains" have introduced into the markets for public securities an amount of depreciation which never could have existed under a system of *bonâ fide* purchases and sales; but the practice has become so notorious, that the highest offices of the State are corrupted by its alluring influences. No wonder, therefore, that we find the petty trader frequently tempted into the same channels.

Let these alterations come soon to avert a greater danger, lest, they having robbed us, the people might be robbing them in return, for that is how crime begets crime—diamond cuts diamond; corruption will pervade all grades of society, commencing from the high, and ending in contamination universal. England, at the end, will be pointed at as a black blot in the histories of the earth.

Then comes the legal pension-list, of which there are about

thirty offices, receiving upwards of £80,000 ; one half of which would be ample payment for the studies which they could have given to become a sinecure, so readily obtained, and often for such sinister purposes.

The retention of the outrageous list of War Pensions, of Castlereagh and Sidmouth Pensions, is an enormous imposition ; the immense sum of £895,000 is still given away by an impudent aristocracy, who preserve the distribution of this ruinous sum.

To all these are to be added emoluments, fees, and patronages to vast amounts, which it will be the business of the just politician further to investigate, and see into what might be improvements upon my plans.

These heads I have brought forward to show where the alterations can be made without any loss to the nation of any actual services ; without any consternation, without riots, or revolutions ; by a general and a firm resolve on the part of the commercial and industrial bodies, by enrolling ourselves into an organized company, for the purpose of instructing ourselves in the art of honest legislation, which now must form a part of our education : since we cannot fail now to see, that had we paid the same attention to the results of taxation and our immediate and future interests, as the oligarchy and aristocracy have paid to their interests in taxation, we should not have been shut out of the political pale and the House of Commons, at the time when with our millions and hundreds of millions they have been subsidizing even our enemies, without our consent or knowledge ; granting supplies to suit their own purposes and caprice, giving some illusive pretext, in which John Bull, fancying he understood, readily acquiesced.

To those who would quietly submit to the continuance of the same state of things, and who are timid, and fearful of any commotions, I have only to say that the day is now arrived when this folding of the arms—a little more slumber, and a little more sleep—will no longer avail nor be borne by the vast majority of this nation. Six-eighths of the population of this country are becoming decided, and have made up their minds

to have justice.\* They know that five millions of male adults are ready to demand honest laws in the name of God; are ready to teach the extortioners of the earth that they have violated the cause of God and the rights of man; are ready to teach them to "provide things honest in the sight of all men," (Rom. xii. 17); they are ready to proclaim the GREAT LAW-GIVER as the only true Ruler, and His law as the only test by which to repudiate the unprincipled enactments of selfish men; they are ready to stand by the Divine record, and appeal to the temporal and spiritual governments in the words of God, "that ye should do that which is honest, though we be as reprobates." (2 Cor. xiii. 7.)

It may yet be asked, what is the standard by which political progressive virtue is to be tested? It may be said that we can have no universal standard, because science, literature, art, and commerce, require their specific analyses, differing according to the principles and qualities which constitute them. But there is a moral standard, qualifying or disqualifying *the motive* which actuates every one in every pursuit. William Paley, D.D., points to this standard in his "Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy," when he says, "Right signifies consistency with the will of God."†

This motive, then,—this object and end in view,—is First Principles, that shall form a standard universal in its application, which is Divine good; and its irradiating wisdom, to which all proceedings—spiritual, moral, or political—must be brought and adjudicated, before the world can become in a better legislative condition of order and true progression. Let no common nor narrow acceptance be given to this good, but the extended and comprehensive meaning be applicable to every pursuit in every individual; more especially is it applicable to the legislative pursuit, which should always be preceded by this inquiry,—Is

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\* One male adult in forty only had a vote, and five-sixths of these electors who have a vote are rendered inert by electoral inequality and corruption; a grievance too palpable to be lost sight of, and no longer to be borne by the people.

† Book II. chap. ix. p. 18.

my motive good? is my mind based upon First Principles, really comprehensive and unselfish in my object in view, and will it be beneficial to mankind, producing the greatest good to the greatest number? Am I labouring for self-aggrandisement in wealth, power, or honour? Am I seeking at all to establish myself at the sacrifice of my neighbour? In short, is good the basis of all my pursuits?—While referring our actions back to this essential motive of good, we are tracing them to the Grand Antecedent, the Primeval Mover of unerring wisdom, First Principles.

All laws will be more perfect as they are less human, because human tendencies are of a perverted order, directed towards selfish ends. Paley seems to have overlooked the above facts, when treating upon “adventitious rights;” he certainly has confounded human with Divine laws, ingeniously making both to be the result of the Divine will.

## CHAPTER CVII.

JOURNALS SHOULD POSSESS A HIGH MORAL STANDING, RATHER  
THAN A LEARNED DISPLAY ONLY.

THE neglect of this will account for the readiness with which a certain paper, the *Times*, could assume a name which should be synonymous with the opinion of the day; that is, not having a principle of its own, nor a motive beyond a commercial and selfish one, it can be all things to all people at all “times.” With a knowledge of the worst part of human nature—that part which greedily devours those sentiments which are flattering and consonant to themselves—that is, knowing that naturally man prefers wrong rather than right, of which the numbers were many; but spiritually, intellectually, and super-



naturally, his choice is the reverse—right and not wrong, of which the numbers were few. Knowing that the nature predominating in this mundane existence is human selfishness, they may have perceived that an ambiguous name that could equivocate and prevaricate, and by this predominant perverted human nature would be best appreciated. But if ever a company of individuals have a heavy weight of responsible iniquity lying at their doors, that company of the *Times* journal may take for granted that responsible weight falls on them; that their system of *following the day*, be that day evil or good—be its characteristics right or wrong—virtue or no virtue—be the ministers unjust, extortionate, or not; as long as they can patch up public confidence, and uphold their place, they calculate on the *Times* to qualify their worst acts with that tact and ingenuity—such talented plausibility—by which the country has been lulled into a placid toleration of all these political crimes.

In this day we know well that neither the Bar, the Bench, nor the Church practises the law, neither human nor Divine. This self-exemption is the bane of the day. No evasion of justice by skilful and cunning devices, holding itself just within the pale of the letter of the law, is justifiable. The LAW, superior to the LETTER, is the NE PLUS ULTRA: “Quando aliquid prohibetur, prohibetur et omne, per quod devenitur ad illud.” Certainly the law of First Principles recognizes no evasions nor extenuations; but “when anything is forbidden, all the means by which the same thing may be compassed, or done, are equally forbidden.\*” Paley also is good where he enforces not the dead letter of law, but the *intention of the law*. He says:—“But when we convert to our purpose a rule or expression of law, which is intended for another purpose, then we plead in our justification, not the intention of the law, but the words; that is, we plead a dead letter, which can signify nothing; for words without meaning or intention have no force

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\* “Junius,” vol. i. p. 455.

nor effect in justice, much less words taken contrary to the meaning and intention of the speaker or writer.”\*

By that empty philosophy, evading and extenuating talent, has this country been taught endurance, till now endurance has become a crime—injustice to our poorer neighbour. A fatal specimen of ability without virtue, like a vessel without a compass, has this journal become—a powerful instrument in the wrong hands. Nothing is more dangerous to the well-doing of a nation than an influential and unprincipled journal in league with an unprincipled oligarchy and aristocracy.

It has cast out its line to fathom the depth of Reform; but can any honest man, who has read that journal for the last twenty years, say it deserves our confidence? No! Trust no more to them than to the millionaire or the aristocracy, until its columns speak the plain, honest language of truth—until it has thrown off that ambiguity and double-tongue which stamp deceit on its very name. Let its vaunted prowess no longer be to make a talented display in a bad cause, nor to undertake the defence of the culpable wrongs which aristocratic legislators are inflicting upon their country. Let these sprigs of the law know that the country requires something more in the journal of this day than a mass of briefs got up indiscriminately in defence of either the guilty or the innocent—the evil or the good; that the honest alike with the rogue in public services obtaining the same defence and support, is not the course of proceedings which Great Britain expects editors of papers to adopt. They are expected to be a grade higher than the learned counsel who is allowed to bend and twist the law into deformity to his ease. However atrocious a monster be the criminal, or however villainous be the suit, the learned counsel has to make wrong, right—the blackest and foulest wretches appear fair and comely. Such men, of all the men in the country, are the most incompetent to become editors, where men should have a highly sensitive nature, in order readily to repulse any injury done to the cause of honesty and virtue. Journals should have

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\* Paley's "Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy," p. 26.

remained fair and impartial narrators of events, perfect types of actions, and unflinching exponents of crime, whether high or low : they should have remained passive instruments only.

Let the *Times*, that leviathan of corruption, no longer boast of its intelligence of *darkness*, but know that it has become the political *dragon* of sensuality ; its very name—*Times*—has become but another word for hypocrisy.

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## CHAPTER CVIII.

### DIRECT TAXATION.—LAND-TAX EVASIONS.

I AM aware that some have thought that, with direct taxation, taxes would never be obtained at all. I am ready to admit that, if we look into past history, and notice how the aristocracy of this country have evaded the direct income and land-tax, they may have some reason for supposing that direct taxes could not be raised ; but this has arisen out of the unprincipled owners of wealth cunningly and dishonestly taking advantage of the then unenlightened commercial indifference to the amount they were taxed, and to what amount landowners exempted themselves ; and more especially imagining they had a party in the Whigs fighting for them, advocating their cause, when history proves they have ever only been advocating their own. The Whigs have proved themselves worse than the Tories in their hypocrisy—succumbing to the Tories whenever open riot or revolution wore no menacing aspect, or whenever the people were not thoroughly conversant with the measures.

Merchants and working men have ever paid their taxes with an earnestness to provide for their government ; this is readily proved in that they contribute in taxes on their food, drinkables, and articles of clothing, and raw materials, £39,034,164 ; and on transfer of their personal property, not land, £7,000,000 more ; and then on stamps, &c., £5,000,000 ; making in all,

£51,034,164, which the trading and working classes pay of the annual taxation; while these unscrupulous tax-eaters and evaders, the landowners, pay only £1,214,430. These are the returns they make for the gifted or plundered possessions of land. So far their history furnishes us with proofs of the right parties who have evaded not only direct, but other taxations, which would otherwise only bear equally upon them as upon others.

We need be under no misapprehension about the trading and working classes, who always have borne their own share of the taxes, and the taxes of their rich neighbours also; and with indefatigable energies, close and anxious application, have they perseveringly worked to do this—never stopping even to see what lazy drones there were sucking all the honey of their industry: the harder they worked this year, the harder they would have to work next year, to provide for an increasing family.

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## CHAPTER CIX.

### INJUSTICE AND CRIME AMONG THE RULERS OF NATIONS, BEGET INJUSTICE AND CRIME EVERYWHERE.

A LEGISLATOR, by any selfish act of his own, causes indifference on the part of the people to a moral rectitude of action; and has by that very selfish act on his part given the country a coolness to integrity, which increases as the laws become partial and exclusive, until the coolness to virtue grows into indifference, then distaste, then dislike; till by daily familiarity with injustice, witnessed by almost every act of the legislator, the people embrace injustice themselves, seeing every act of the higher class characterized by the same. Such examples influence the people's conduct, and, having no voice in the nation



to alter such a state of things, despair enters their breasts—hope is lost—disappointment everywhere leaves them hopeless; and at last crime is winked at by the people that looked in vain for examples of justice among the ruling powers.

The Legislature, by withholding one single act of right and justice from the people, produces a greater evil to a nation than millions of punishments can rectify. Trace crime to its primary cause, and you will find that it invariably proceeds from real or imaginary grievances, especially among the thinking part of delinquents.

How calculated to make a people dishonest is a one-sided, partial, privilege-hunting Government, wronging a whole nation by its exclusive, greedy appropriations of all the loaves and fishes, without even permitting merit to receive its rightful promotion! Unfairness in centralization is an injustice which the people never forget. Regarding it as a crime by those from whom they ought to expect good examples, they grow indifferent to character.

How centralization instead of nationalization is sought after by men in office at the present day, may be illustrated by a recent act of Sir Richard Mayne's, in which he has contrived to get the police to pass before the clergy of the Church of England, by ordering their attendance to a private service on a week-day, held actually at the police-stations, where no other person can hear what is said to them. This might give rise to much abuse some day.

We have now a good Queen reigning in England, but we know not how near the day may be when a tyrant may rule, and, by private instructions to the clergy, find a ready means to convey to the ears of the police a means of carrying out a despotism very distasteful and very unconstitutional. No lectures ought to be allowed to be made to any public officers unless it be made in public, where the public also can attend. The church is always available for such services, and ought to be the only place allowed for it.

That which John Knox said of religion, I say of political government. He said:—"Slackness in reforming religion,

when time and opportunity were granted for this purpose, was one cause of the Divine displeasure against England."

Our religion has done little practically, if it protect and countenance the injustice practised among our men holding political power: their slackness in reforming the crying corruptions of the day is calling forth the evidence of Divine displeasure at the crimes and injustice at home and abroad.

Addison quaintly remarks that "Honours are in this world under no regulation; true quality is neglected, virtue is oppressed, and *vice triumphant*. The last day will rectify this disorder, and assign to every one a station suitable to the dignity of his character: ranks will then be adjusted, and precedence set right."

Well might Thomas Carlyle say, that "all goes by self-interest, and checking and balancing of greedy knaveries," in his allusion to the modern error of present loyalty and royalty. Have a head of nations, by all means, that shall stand at the head of all that is good, honest, and practical; taking care that a governmental head have not a particle of selfishness—no self-will, but a nation's will. Let the head of a nation be the reflex of its people, not of its gold and pomp—the corrupting media of its people. Let the head of a nation possess, most of all men, the thorough and pure; by which, becoming godlike, he will receive love and wisdom from God. By not following a selfish dictate, he will receive a Divine dictate; hence become the chosen by God, and thence by man.

John Knox ever held that rulers, supreme as well as subordinate, were invested with authority for the public good; that obedience was not due to them in anything *contrary* to the *Divine law*, natural or revealed; that in every free and well-constituted government the law of the land was superior to the will of the prince; that inferior magistrates and subjects might restrain the supreme magistrate from *particular illegal* acts without throwing off their allegiance, or being guilty of rebellion; "*that no class of men has an original, inherent, and indefeasible right to rule over a people, independently of their will and consent; that every nation is entitled to provide and require that*

*they shall be ruled by laws which are agreeable to the Divine law, and calculated to promote their welfare ; that there is a mutual compact, tacit and implied, if not formal and explicit, between subjects and their rulers. And if the rulers shall flagrantly violate this, employ that power for the destruction of the commonwealth which was committed to them for its preservation and benefit ; or, in one word, if they shall become habitual tyrants and notorious oppressors, that the people are absolved from their allegiance, and have a right to resist them, formally to depose them from their place, and to elect others in their room.”\**

Notwithstanding the above just remarks, he constantly taught the people that they “had rights to preserve as well as duties to perform.” Hence we can discover in him a just spirit of conservatism, as well as a just soul for the reformation of religion and State.

John Knox says :—“The Christian religion natively tends to cherish and diffuse a spirit favourable to civil liberty ; and this, in its turn, has the most happy influence upon Christianity, which never flourished extensively and for a long period in any country where despotism prevailed.”

I say, with Thomas Carlyle, “Find me the true kenning king, or able man, and he has a Divine right over me.” This is the only true order of election. Now, it would be said, Where would be the evidence of God’s choice ? I answer, By their every act and deed, by their proximity to the thorough and pure, is known their favour in God. By their just laws shall man know they have a head good and wise, loveful and truthful. On the contrary, by their every selfish act will man know that their head is chosen by demoniacal spirits, parading themselves in the false grandeur of lust and vanity ; building themselves round with all kinds of exclusive legislation, which is selfish, therefore dishonest. Shutting out from the suffrage the superior class of men, that are quiet and unobtrusive, yet edu-

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\* Dr. McCree’s “Life of John Knox,” vol. i. pp. 149, 150.

cated, intelligent, and industrious, is an evidence of selfishness in any Legislature, that admits of no doubt.

Thomas de Finola and Vincentius de Placentia, persons celebrated for their learning, maintained that subjects have a right to control and reform their rulers. Craig, at the same conference, said, in answer to a courtier's remark, that "Bologna was a commonwealth, and we are a kingdom," "My lord, my judgment is, that every kingdom is a commonwealth, *or at least should be*, albeit that every commonwealth is not a kingdom; and therefore I think that in a kingdom no less diligence ought to be taken that *laws be not violated than in a commonwealth*, because the tyranny of princes who *continually* reign in a kingdom is *more hurtful* to the subjects than the misgovernment of those that from year to year are *changed in free commonwealths*." Again Craig added, that "although laws contrary to the law of God and to the true principles of government had been introduced, through the negligence of the people or the *tyranny* of princes; yet the same people, or their posterity, had a *right to demand that all things should be reformed according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths*."

As a breach of trust has lately been made penal in a pecuniary sense, so should it be well understood that an act of selfishness in a legislator is a breach of trust morally, and ought to be punishable before any pecuniary consideration; for a man's morals are of greater consequence than his money, especially that gotten selfishly.

Much has been said about "self is the first law of nature." An intelligent man ought to ignore this old adage, as belonging more to the animal nature than to the human. It is the animal nature of the human, and ought to be held in constant check by the wisdom of the human in proximity to the Divine. As man rises from his selfishness, which is the essence of hell, he is emerging towards disinterestedness, which is heaven.

Rulers of nations, allowing selfishness to enter into their mode of governing, instead of the highest justice, are admitting into it an heterogeneous element, which is an affliction upon



the whole nation ; inasmuch as it is a departure from the spirit of love and the justice of wisdom—opposed to the genius of heaven, and to the Ruler of rulers. The result of selfishness, becoming a component part of a nation's laws, is crime and injustice everywhere.

It will be said that the bulk of the people do not see the injustice heaped upon them ; therefore, it cannot be the cause of crime among them. I answer, that selfish rulers have legions of evils surrounding them that make the presiding genius their own agent, that shall bring down woes and curses upon mankind. "Injustice pays itself with frightful compound interest," says Thomas Carlyle, "On Heroes," p. 390.

Immediately a ruling genius becomes selfish, he becomes a medium of evil communications everywhere ; in common parlance, he becomes the agent of the devil, not a vicegerent of God. Misrule, misery, and sin spread like lightning amongst the unhappy people. First Principles are lost sight of, because of selfish principles ; good and true principles are ignored ; legislators are found floundering among their superficialities, having no depth of wisdom for guidance—no basis of principle ; they multiply laws, forgetting they are multiplying difficulties and multiplying complexities, until they have compounded a *mélange* of intricacies fit only for a legion of lawyers to jabber over ; till at last, with their ponderous volumes of references, they raise a huge mass of contradictory mutterings, over which devils laugh and chuckle, knowing well that it is the result of injustice first of all among the ruling powers, and begetting crime and injustice everywhere.

Labour has ever been robbed of its rightful payment ; nothing more fully proves it than the corruption of the money that was commonly practised by the reigning monarchs during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the reign of Charles I., monopolies were granted on the moneys of the realm, and the adulteration of the standard was introduced through the excessive and extravagant expenditure of the king. Sir Robert Cotton showed that the Roman Empire kept up the purity of the standard of her coins until the loose times of Commodus, when excess of

vain expenses introduced severe necessity, and that brought on an adulteration of the standard. The grandeur of the Empire constantly declined, *pari passu*, with the gradual adulteration of its coin. "There is no surer symptom of decay in any State than the corruption of the money. Henry VI. obtained a bad reputation by abating the quantity of bullion in his coins, and otherwise debasing them by the practice of alchemy in his Mint."\* Henry VIII. fell into the same bad measures; but Queen Elizabeth, by the good counsels of Burleigh and Sir Thomas Smith, did honour to the Crown, and justice to industry, by bringing back the standard of the coins to the ancient purity of her great-grandfather, Edward IV. So much credit is due to Elizabeth; but what can we say of Henry VIII., who established the offices of "Royal Exchangers," by a grant to the Earl of Holland, renewing the Statutes of the 9th of Edward III., and the 2nd of Henry IV., prohibiting all change and exchange by any other than the said Earl of Holland, he, the king taking the profits; which gave rise to that serious dissatisfaction which eventually separated from the king the loyalty and affection of the people?

Who, then, really severs the affections of the people from the king and state, but the kings and governments themselves? Blame not the public, but the rulers of nations, when they do not reign in the hearts of their people.

The wrong-doings of monarchs cannot be hid from public gaze and scrutiny, especially at this day; nor will Louis Napoleon escape, though he be rich as Cræsus and cunning as Eblis. God, in the march of events, and the operations of His laws, brings the most hidden iniquities to light. The world must be taught that the extravagance of vanity begets crime in our day, as well as in the day when the Crown jewels were pawned for £300,000 which took place in 1625; and, worse than all, how were they paid for? We know that the king commissioned Sir Sackville Crow to get 610 pieces of iron

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\* Financial Prize Essay, chap. iv.

cannon cast, and then sold them to the States-General of the United Netherlands. This disgraceful redemption of his Crown jewels by the shabby monarch of those times, ought to strike terror into the extravagance of anyone of our day, so that he desist from such practices, through which royalty degraded itself by such an example.

This bad example of royalty was exceeded by what was still worse, the introduction of the Royal Exchange. That was the initiative into speculation and gambling, which taught all the many trickeries on the Exchange that are augmented in this day to a system of frightful knavery among the people, which is destroying the very morality of our most active men, who, but for royal prestige, would (I hope) have never learnt to gain money without giving a *quid pro quo*.

Gaming was known to be injurious by even Mohammed. In the Kôran, chap. ii., he prohibited gaming in few words: "They will ask thee concerning lots ;\* answer, There is great sin." Again, "Consume not your wealth among yourselves in vanity ;" *i.e.*, "employ it not in things prohibited by God, such as usury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like."†

In 1672, the king shut up the Exchequer. This bad act was very similar to that committed by his father in 1638 ; but the amount was much more considerable, being £1,328,526. Nearly 10,000 families were ruined by this most cruel proceeding of the king.‡ In a printed declaration, the king promised he would punctually pay the interest, but this he reduced to 6 per cent. ; the principal was never paid.

This debt, by an act of the 12th year of William III., bore interest at 3 per cent., and was made a public debt, redeemable by paying a moiety of the principal sum ; but it finally subsided, in 1720, into the South Sea capital stock, at 5 per cent. interest.

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\* The original word, *al Meiser*, properly signifies a particular game performed with arrows. But by lots we are here to understand all games whatsoever which are subject to chance or hazard—as dice, cards, &c.

† Alkoran, p. 64.

‡ Financial Prize Essay.

The fearful loss to this country arising from wars should be a matter of investigation for all,—the encumbrance it has entailed upon industry struggling to rise from penury, is grievous; and for what? For the pride of kings, or their malice only—or their madness; certainly not their prudence; also to make that immensely rich Bank, together with money-jobbers, still richer. The reckless bloodshed during the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century is appalling, and beyond measure reprehensible. The amount it has cost this nation is alarming to every man that has to work for his living, for it adds fearful hardships to his penury, since the burden is placed on his shoulders.

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## CHAPTER CX.

THE NATION THAT WOULD COLONIZE MUCH SHOULD, FIRST OF ALL, REGARD JUSTICE.

AN Empire that regards colonization as one of her leading features of action, recognizing it as her constituent principle to spread her influence everywhere over the face of this globe, should take good care that her influence be based upon FIRST PRINCIPLES. The mere excuse that our object is to Christianize and civilize, is not found to be sufficient where the practice of First Principles has been disregarded. Purity and intelligence must ever attend power, or power unconnected with both becomes a mere weapon wielded for the repression of good; each must be co-ordinate to be perfect; or, to approach it, must be co-equal in *virtue, intelligence, and power*. The crimes of a Nana Sahib, or of Peh-Kwei, or of Commissioner Yeh, however great, will not justify an injustice committed by us. Their greater crimes will not justify our lesser ones.

Nor is it enough were England to become the greatest



nation; she must also become the best. All her second and third principles must stand in right relation to her First Principles; her intelligence and her power must only be in exact ratio with her virtue, else every act falls out of order. A deviation from the rectilineal leaves a curve, or an angle, and is no longer a right line. The answer, that man is not perfect or he would be God, is not the conclusion that screens the man nor the empire. Perfection in justice, to the best of our knowledge, is man's only standard implicitly reliable for his guidance. It is his only present flag of truce—his only eternal and unerring axiom direct from the Immaculate Creator.

After all, England cannot boast of her practice in philosophy much more than the other nations which we conquer. Great nations seem oblivious of their great moral teachers. China seems not to obey Confucius; nor do Turkey and Asia, Mohammed; nor India, Brahma; nor did Greece her Plato, Socrates, or Epicurus, Origen, Adamantus, or Aristotle; nor did Rome her Cicero, Gracchus, Decimus, Seneca, or Pliny; nor does Spain Seneca; nor can Britain boast of her faithfulness to the teachings of Knox, Pope, Burns, Locke, Bacon, and hosts of others.

Alas! it is not maxims that are wanted, but the daily practice of axioms. It is not the attainment of greater knowledge, but the hourly reduction and application of life to the philosophic dictate. The theology of life is the practice of the better suggestive spirits that ever attend the walk of all that are not purposely bad, wantonly criminal, irreclaimable negatives. The great chasm of life that must be filled up before perfection can be approached is—practice.

The approximation to perfection is the approach to happiness. Creation's joys culminate in perfection; creation's woes increase as we are distant from it. Perfection embraces all the sciences, all the arts, and all the graces of beauty and goodness combined. The best mechanic is he who is the most perfect, as also is the best sculptor and painter. The beauties of nature are where perfections are approached; the higher her developments by cultivations, the fuller her beauties stand forth.

England by her colonies is becoming extensive, but is she becoming truly grand, sublimely noble, in her dealings with her colonies? I fear we must first ask many other questions. Is England, first of all, just? Is she fair and unselfish? Is she regulated by First Principles in all her colonizations? Is not the upholding of her commerce at the expense of justice, now more the great object she has in view, than the benefits her vaunted Christianity confers upon her foreign subjects? Are not our colonies now more regarded as facilities for providing appointments for our ignoble sons, the scions of mere wealth and title? Are the honest, deserving, and intelligent men chosen first for their appointments? Are the deserving natives placed in office before our undeserving drawing-room idlers? Let these questions be answered before we assert that England is just in her colonization. I shall neither refer particularly to Australia, to India, nor to China; but the histories of them all, I fear, yield examples of a saddening character.

Not the slightest injustice should appear in our missionary and colonizing attempts, but Dr. Livingstone's principle of action should ever be practised—that of purchasing a tract of land, rather than, as marauders, taking it by force; seizing that to which we have no right, beyond the barbarian right of power. We must no longer allow Paley's views on property to be entertained. He says that "my right to an estate does not at all depend upon the manner or justice of the original acquisition; nor upon the justice of each subsequent change of possession."\* Here is Paley admitting a third-rate principle to guide us on the laws of property, which, if it be permitted in the past, must never be a regulating principle in the future.

The cramped views of colonization, such as the Earl of Chatham expressed in Parliament, must no longer find place in our advanced day. He declared that "the British colonists in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe."† Alluding to the popular opinion which then prevailed, that all monopolies by the mother country were

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\* Paley's "Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy," p. 25.

† Porter's "Progress of the Nation," p. 730. "History of West Indies," vol. ii. p. 565.

justifiable, not only the monopoly of supply, but of all colonial produce and manufacture.

The very injustice which we then practised on our colonies lost us America, in place of which we obtained a national debt, an equivalent for which all our colonies cannot recompense, even to the commercial interests.

England must at once learn to know and acknowledge that her principle of action will ever be wrong as long as she regulates her colonial operations by second and third-rate principles, instead of First Principles.

Anything inert even may become great; great mountains and great valleys abound. England's greatness might arise out of her very worst characteristics, but her nobleness of action might occupy very small dimensions, though she conquered the whole world.

What gave the early ascendancy to Rome? It was not her usurped monarchy, but her commonwealth, her attempts at moral rectitude, extending fairness to all; the noble spirits that existed among the Tribunes after conquest; her stern regard to truth and justice; the sentiments of Tiberius Gracchus, his honest and neighbour-loving project to revive the law of Licinius, making some abatements of minor importance only, assisted by Appius Claudius and Mutius Scævola. Gracchus would not aggrandize himself nor even the Commonwealth, at the expense of virtue—of justice and fairness among his fellow citizens. He dared to be just in his day, in public and private. He paid the penalty of an earthly life. Oh, Gracchus, better thus to have died, than live after two thousand years have elapsed, and witness the very opposite principles practised, from those which you died to enunciate! Where are the men that dare introduce such a measure of rectitude into our Legislature, and would they have half your success? Where are the grand spirits of your most glorious commonwealth? Has earth no longer any interest for you? Or have we grown so demoniacal that the gulf is too great; are we now beyond the influence of the nobly good? Will you not

come among us? Rather shun us as you would shun to enter hell, unless you can accomplish our rescue.

Has it taken more than two thousand years to convince the world that Licinus and Gracchus were right in principle? Were all the panics of 1847, 1855, 1856, and 1857 necessary, before the world could even dimly see that capital had accumulated too largely into too few hands in Great Britain? Capital is a burden, when in excess to the few, having the excess, whilst many are deprived of common necessities, and thus brought to starvation, when the excessively rich are dying with plethora.

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## CHAPTER CXI.

### A MORE GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IS BENEFICIAL TO THE RICH AND THE POOR.

A NATION based upon First Principles would adopt some such law as that of limiting the accumulations of wealth: a boundary would be made somewhere; for not *only wealth but everything in excess is injurious*; one step beyond the sublime is the ridiculous. With education the distinctions of the poor and the rich are no longer necessary. A majority of the poor labourers of England require no goadings to induce them to work; they are habitually industrious: let them be better paid, and introduced into the acquirement of more comforts at home, by having better diversified resources for progress in payments; the labourer and the artisan would then be found to be less frequenters of public-houses, and more attentive students than are now the sons of excessive wealth.

If it be a benefit to be born rich, let the benefit be extended further, that none be born poor! Not by poor-laws, nor by eleemosynary acts of charity, but by a well diversified means constantly at hand to induce intelligent industry to be usefully active: this can well be accomplished by limiting the accumu-



lation of wealth possessed by any one individual, by taxing inordinate wealth heavily; which would at once generalize wealth into a greater number of hands, and set free the laboriously encumbered.

It must not be understood, by the foregoing remarks, that competence is not necessary where public affairs require the exclusive attention of the Legislature: he, the public man of the State, must not be very much encumbered with the detail of commerce to live by it, to do justice to his constituents and to the requirements of his country. But that is a very different affair—the excessively rich statesman that was born rich, but, unfortunately for the nation, was not born with statesman-like qualities to become useful to the country as a statesman.

To be useful is to be good, intelligent, and active. To be time-serving is to be bad, cunning, and plotting. The order of the day, I am sorry to say, is the latter, whilst the former ought to be the only qualification for public men. No one can say that respectability consists in the man unqualified for his office, though he be an aristocrat; neither can respectability be founded upon fortune as the world is now constituted. Personal qualities and meritorious exemplifications are the only constituents of respectability.

It does not follow that the rich are to be stripped of their estates nor of their wealth; no such notion prevails among the sons of industry: none respects property more than the industrious man. The infamous hue and cry about the working people of England, got up by that power-serving *Times*, is not correct. Any large employer of labour can testify to the fact, that the really industrious are the most honest, and can make as good a distinction between *meum* and *tuum* as can the cabal of that paper the *Times*, which is too much the destroyer of all political and civil progress. That paper is treacherous in every cause, except that which happens to be the strongest party; not even a wreck of principle has it beyond that. Self-interest and power are its only regulating motives. It is the Thrasymachus of our day, which cannot distinguish between virtuous power and vicious power; that will not (like Thrasymachus) be

persuaded "that injustice is not more gainful than justice." Also like him would call "justice a very generous folly," "injustice sagacity." To whom the unjust seem both wise and good. "Such at least (said he) that are able to do injustice in perfection, and can subject states and nations to themselves." These are the prevailing sentiments of the *Times* journal; nothing could more resemble the very acme of its principles; truly, we now require a Socrates and a Plato to controvert such fallacies. Socrates shall now answer that mendacious journal. "I am surprised that you should reckon injustice as a part of virtue, and wisdom and justice among their contraries."—"What then would the unjust man do? Would he deem it right to over-reach the just man, even in a just action?" said Socrates.—"How not," said Thrasymachus (in whom we seem to trace the original father of the tribe of the *Times*), "since he deems it right to overreach all men?"—"Well, then," inquired Socrates, "the unjust man is both wise and good, but the just man neither?"—"Well again," said Thrasymachus, the great-great-grandfather of the *Times*, in principle and action.

By various analogical arguments did Socrates seek to convince; by the musicians' music, which must be musical, the strings of which must not be over-strained nor over-slackened. "The physician," said Socrates, "in prescribing meats or drinks, would he try to overreach either another physician or the art he professes? But one who is no physician would. Yes. But the skilful man [is] wise?" "I admit it," said Thrasymachus.—"And the wise, good?" inquired Socrates. "I admit it," said Thrasymachus.—"Both the good and the wise, then, will not want to overreach his like?"—"It seems so," said Thrasymachus. "*But the bad and the ignorant man will want to overreach both his like and the contrary?*" inquired Socrates.—"It appears so," said Thrasymachus.—"The just man, then, resembles the wise and the good, but the unjust the evil and the ignorant?" asked Socrates.—"It seems so," said Thrasymachus. Thrasymachus at last agreed to all these things—not easily, as I now narrate them, but dragged to it, and with difficulty, and with a wondrous deal of sweating, just

as if it was summer. Then indeed did I behold—I never did before—Thrasymachus *blushing*.

The last part of the dialogue is the only part bearing no resemblance to the *Times* journal. Whoever found the *Times* journal—*blushing*?

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## CHAPTER CXII.

THE "TIMES" JOURNAL IS THE BARRIER TO PROGRESS.

It would do one's eyes good to behold the *Times* blushing, because with blushing would come admission of error—a change from the vicious to the virtuous might then be hoped.

Where is this "Maximus Philosophorum" of our day—where is the spirit of Plato, that he convinces not the *Times*—the Thrasymachus of our day?

"But," said Thrasymachus, "I do remember we said injustice is powerful."—Then said Socrates, "I think it hath been said that injustice is more powerful and stronger than justice." So says the *Times*.

That journal has ever sought to undermine a straightforward line of action, by giving derisive terms to whatever was not its time-serving, place-hunting policy. She has only been gracious in one way—that of carrying her principle so far, that she has not only become transparent, but has stood out in bold relief, in impudent arrogance, in ironical mockery, at the vanity of the people of England expecting justice. She would tell them, in all the dress of language, that justice is only for fools; wise men never think of it. Certainly, the *Times*, worldly wise, does not; nor do such fair-dealing words ever enter into the vernacular of the *Times*.

A reader of the *Times* paper is sure to be warped and twisted in his judgment, if he read not better dictating spirits as well.

It always associated the aristocracy with respectability ; not only that, but it gave an exclusiveness to them, till it had lately found another power—the monetary power. Any existent power is sufficient for that journal (whose only virtue is potentiality) to insure its advocacy. If ever industry wish to establish its claims, it is certain to find the *Times* dead against it ; simply because the *Times* can see no other claims in relation to power.

Respectability may exist also among the frugal men of industry : the man who has worked every long day, with scarce an exception, throughout the year, cannot be a debtor to his country, nor undeserving the respect of his country. Honesty should ever carry with it the respect that is due to it, whether coming from labour or from wealth ; in fact, the temptations are greater in privation than in affluence ; therefore, the greater amount of respect is due to the industriously honest.

Well did Tiberius Gracchus foresee, and truly predict, the evil consequences of wealth *getting into the hands of a few* ; plainly he foretold the destruction that would come upon Rome some day, for permitting such tendencies. “ Much,” he said, “ she possessed, and had yet more to acquire : that the people, by their decision in the present question, were to determine whether they were by multiplying their numbers to strengthen the community, and put themselves into position to conquer what yet remained of the world ; or, by suffering the resources of the whole people to get *into the hands of a few*, they were to *permit their numbers to decline*, and against nations envious and jealous of their power, to become unable even to maintain the ground they already had gained.”

As hell will not allow good laws to be made for their dark machinations, neither would Rome then allow this just law to be made. Neither will England now allow the shadow of a resemblance of such a sound policy ; yet England will have to experience what Rome has experienced, as certain as she retains her exclusive system of legislation.



## CHAPTER CXIII.

NEITHER THE EXTREME OF ACCUMULATION NOR THE EXTREME  
OF SUBDIVISION IS NECESSARY.

To fly off to France, in order to support the opposite view, is not the question. The subdivisions of the landed proprietary of France are carried to the other extreme: neither the extreme of subdivision, nor of excessive accumulation of wealth, is necessary to the wholesome well-doing of a whole nation. A limit to subdivision should take place, and a limit to accumulation should also take place: not one nor the other, but both must be limited. Allow by law no property to be subdivided of less value than £2000 in Great Britain. Allow also no property exceeding £500,000 to be held by any one individual.

This is simple, yet based upon First Principles, because its tendency would be to benefit the whole, rather than as now, a part of the whole. I do not say the immediate effect, but the ultimate effect is as certain as that the whole is greater than a part.

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## CHAPTER CXIV.

THE "DISEASE OF THE MIND" IDENTICAL WITH THIS DAY.

I HAVE tested FIRST PRINCIPLES by some of the best statesmen of Rome; let us now examine another country of ancient renown. Next to Rome, Greece ranks in governmental disquisitions: it gave birth to a genius that became good enough, wise enough, and learned enough, for the world's guidance, had that world followed his maxims and dictates—a genius

which Eusebius, six hundred years after, declared that "he alone of all the Greeks reached to the vestibule of truth, and stood upon its threshold." This "Maximus Philosophorum" is none other than Plato—that broad-shouldered man that the *Times* journal would have denounced as unequalled for the army of England, because of the dimensions of his shoulders rendering him unfit to associate with the sons of witless lords. So that the logic of the *Times* amounts to this—that the shoulders are to be the exclusive medium of talent. I am sorry the paper that had once some renown should have blundered so egregiously as to have forgotten Plato's shoulders! But not only has the *Times* forgotten the shoulders of Plato, but, what is much worse, the sentiments of that great man are altogether and alike oblivious in every expression which that journal brings forth.

Plato witnessed the corruptions of democracy in his own country, that of the Athenian democracy; also that of the despotic and absolute rule of Dionysius of Syracuse; but, had he lived in our day, he would have had more ample means of witnessing the corruptions of monarchy under a denomination of constitutional form, the whole of which are alike opposed to the exalted view of Plato. His Ethics require no revision for this day, neither does the advocacy of virtue ever require revision. Virtue is an abstract principle, which man never can modify, although various are the attempts to dress it into corrupt semblance; whereas Plato asserts vice to be "a disease of the mind," but "virtue is to be pursued as the true good of the soul."\*

My advocacy is not to injure any class whatever; I seek not the destruction of the possessors of wealth nor of honours; but I seek their fundamental amelioration in the true possession of happiness. Happiness is never unconnected with virtue. If, therefore, our members of State have disregarded the line of rectitude which should benefit their country in the majority,

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\* Plato's "Republic," IV. 444.

they have simultaneously disregarded that which shall ever benefit themselves the most—*i.e.*, virtue.

Plato attests the fact, when he says that “*virtuous conduct*, apart from its benefits to society, is *advantageous to the individual practising it*; inasmuch as it insures that regularity of the imagination, that tranquillity and internal harmony which constitute the mind’s proper happiness.”\*

Our English statesmen would do well to notice Plato’s above remarks; they would then cease to legislate for themselves, and do so for their country essentially and only.

Neither riches, nor land, nor honours, purchase for the statesman happiness; happiness must extend to the legislated—to the people, before it can reach the legislator; one and the other must stand in right relation to each other, just as a man cannot be happy when his household are all in jeopardizing misery, that is, if he be a man—if he have not forsaken his manly spirit; and if he have, he no longer possesses happiness—consonant with man, but only something consonant with demoniacal passions?

## CHAPTER CXV.

THE WRONG CAN NEVER PERMANENTLY UPHOLD THE STATE.

IN order that the State be a perfect State, the statesman must be a perfect statesman. Politics must ever be a branch of ethics; it must never be separated from the moral rectitude of man.

The State based upon First Principles must become vigorous, healthy, and beautiful, because as its foundation is good and solid, its emanations follow in right relation. Plato’s “Re-

\* Plato’s “*Republic*,” IX. 577.

public" is a development of the analogy between the ideas of the perfect man and the perfect State. "Exercising the nobler parts of our nature in the contemplation and practice of philosophy, and more particularly the *summum bonum* (τὸ ἀγαθόν), the practical realization of which should be the chief aim of the State constituted in the soul."\*

A State makes a great mistake when it imagines that wrong principles uphold its solidity better than right principles. The governing powers of Europe nevertheless act upon this perverted principle, England not excepted. It seems to answer : oppression actually appears to promote the retention of regal power. It must be admitted, that questionable lineage retains its imperial throne after polluting it with tyranny and injustice. To the superficial observer crime seems to prosper, and injustice acquires power, plants its standard in foreign lands, practising there the same oppression under the garb of some fastuous pretext of Christianization or civilization. The sceptre of power, however, is only one part of dominion : it is that which the savages of the earth in the most early periods exercised, with no more judgment than the animals of the earth. The lion of the jungle can claim the same merit for mere power, and the serpent of the earth can claim the same for grovelling propensities ; is man meritorious because of mere power ? Why a machine can be made to have more power, physical, than a thousand men. Yet man ever aims at mere power, as if power were identical with happiness or justice. Now, devils have power. So great potentates can trace the origin of their lust for power to his Imperial Satanic Majesty, and congratulate themselves upon their ignoble blood, their right lineal descent.

Of course the love of power is demoniacal, together with the love of dominion ; it may prosper in time, at the expense of eternity, but that prosperity is ever casting its shadows before it—is always purchased at too great a cost, even to the individual possessing it. The crime of oppression, of despotism and tyranny, falls on the head of the evil-doer, be he king, emperor, or sultan.

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\* Plato's " Republic," IV. 441a.



## CHAPTER CXVI.

## THE LASTING ADVANTAGES OF JUSTICE.

On the other side of the question might be portrayed the advantages of justice, since no danger attends it; no fears, nor doubts, nor misgivings, nor reproaches, attend it. Plato corroborates that fact, when he says:—"Nothing that is good is hurtful. . . Does that which hurts not do any evil? Does that which is not hurtful, hurt? 'By no means,' replies Adimentus. And what does no evil cannot be the cause of any evil. But what good is beneficial. . . It is, therefore, the cause of prosperity. Good, therefore, is not the cause of all things; but the cause of those things only which are in a right state—not the cause of those things that are in a wrong state."

Again, in reference to real being=truth, he says: "The true lover of learning is naturally inclined to aspire after the knowledge of real being. . . While truth, however, leads the way, we can never say, I think, that any band of evils follows in her train." Again he inquires: "Think you that it is more profitable to possess all things without the possession of good, or to know all things without the knowledge of the good, having no perception at all of the *beautiful and good*?"\*

## CHAPTER CXVII.

## IS AN OLIGARCHICAL CONSTITUTION CONSISTENT WITH FIRST PRINCIPLES?

FIRST of all in order, to be clear and concise, let us well understand what an Oligarchy really is. My answer shall not be given, but that of one whose authority is indisputable. Plato

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\* Plato's "Republic," pp. 176, 194.

shall answer the inquiry, What constitution is it that you call an oligarchy? "That government which is founded on the estimate of men's property; in which the rich rule, and the poor have no share in the government. As they advance in the intensity of the desire for acquiring wealth, the more honourable they account this, the more dishonourable will they deem virtue; for is not virtue so at variance with wealth, that, supposing each to be placed at the opposite end of a balance, they would always weigh the one against the other? While wealth, then, and the wealthy are honoured in the State, both virtue and good men must necessarily be held in dishonour.\* And do they not enact laws, regulating the quantity of oligarchical power by the quantity of wealth, allotting more to the more wealthy and less to the less so? And do they not settle these matters compulsory by force of arms, establishing such a state after previous intimidation?

Is not Louis Napoleon doing this now to the very letter, by intimidation and by force of arms, compelling France to yield to an oligarchy? Is not England based upon an oligarchical constitution already? Deny it however much she may, *de facto* she is an oligarchy; and all because she has departed from FIRST PRINCIPLES.

First Principles extend justice to all, not to the *few only*, as doth an oligarchy. An oligarchy, then, is not consistent with First Principles.

Had I said that immunities must be extended alike to all, in order to be consistent with First Principles, I should have stated a questionable polity; but I enforce justice, which, uninterfered with by human selfish partialities, regards all with an eye to fairness, according to capacities of reception, not according to possessions of inert matter—gold, silver, or land—gotten too often not by virtue, but by fraud.

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\* Plato's "Republic," VIII. c. iv., p 240.

## CHAPTER CXVIII.

## IS A DEMOCRACY CONSISTENT WITH FIRST PRINCIPLES ?

IN so far as it would consist in the desire of becoming rich only, it is not consistent ; in so far as it lends on usury, or in so far as it would kill, banish, or share State offices, it is not. Plato says, "To honour riches and at the same time practise temperance is impossible, since the one or the other must necessarily be neglected." Glaucon inquires what law he would have. Socrates replies, "One that shall follow the other, *compelling the citizen to cultivate virtue.*"\*

For the poor to prevail over the rich, would be as wrong as for the rich to prevail over the poor ; neither need be prevalent because of either one or the other, but be equal in the practice of First Principles, arising out of the cultivation of virtue.

Whether it be in an oligarchy or a democracy, an extreme or an abuse of privilege is wrong. Under a democracy, men of all characters will spring up ; although Socrates said it seems likely "to be the best of all governments, just as a various-coloured robe is best." The lenity shown to some is likely to cause the exalted natures of others to be overlooked. In a democracy, the man will be affected towards the multitude, which would obtain the greatest honours. I do not know that so great an evil would arise out of that as now arises out of the oligarchic tendency, so well affected towards the merely rich and wealthy, unconnected as it so often now is with noble actions.

If democracy can be shown to produce anarchy, it cannot be consistent with First Principles ; but the variation and distribution of a certain equality to all, does not evince an inconsistency, after education has become general ; and as this is now fast approaching, the objections to equalities of political *status* are being fast removed.

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\* Book VIII., c. 10, p. 240.

A democracy growing out of general and almost universal education—steadily acquiring its suffrage by its love of the good and the true—intelligently and virtuously making its political claims—persevering and enduring in opposition to mere oligarchic power—would questionably become a sound constitution. But how is corruption to be shut out, and all the various powers to which wealth and riches lay claim, unconnected with either the love of the good or the true, which in an old empire is unintelligibly enforced? For the position in State is often bought, as one buys a horse; but with this difference—the horse is paid for in money, but the office in State is often paid for in compromise, in a prostitution of principle, or in the persistence of the unjust, with which from long habit men have grown familiar, having been first tempted to do wrong by the higher class, that should have set a better example.

The corruptions can only be outrooted, then, by a new advocacy of justice, rather than a new application of it. First Principles must be advocated and practised; every Act of Parliament must be measured by this standard; every old vicious preference abjured; every sordid motive and money-gotten power only, discontinued; First Principles must be practised and made the ruling medium.

The civilized organized form of government is generally found to be that best adapted to a people. A republic is the most economical, and should never change, its form having been well established upon universal suffrage and ANNUAL elections of presidents; NEVER FOREGOING THE LATTER, HOWEVER GREAT A FAVOURITE THE VACATING PRESIDENT MAY BE! A change from a monarchical to a constitutional regal form may, among an intelligent people, benefit all parties abstractedly. A country may merge from despotism to constitutionalism, but never has history shown us, that with safety can the commonwealth ever take the oligarchic form with impunity. Greece and Rome, after long trials, sank in the attempt.

Difficulty ever attends a sudden wide change of governmental system, because the people individually benefiting by it



have not had time to fortify themselves against surrounding dangers; they become undermined by the adults and adepts that have made State intrigue their life's study. France illustrates these difficulties, yet profits not by her experience.

While I admit that all nations should be commonwealth, I am far from admitting that commonwealth is at present applicable to all nations, until something preparatory to its adoption has taken place.

The world must recognize principles of action, before it can adopt them. The principle of simple integrity and virtue must become a more recognized standard of action, having a broader meaning, admitted to be of more general application individually. The claims of the brother, poor or rich, must be regarded as neighbourly claims, and indisputable inasmuch as they are Divine! Deny that claim, and inasmuch as ye do it unto the least, have ye done it unto the nationality of Divine Institute.

It is the gaunt potentate of mere noble name, or of golden claim, that requires the *preparation* prior to the adoption of pure laws. In the first ages, the Greeks were governed by monarchs, and there were as many kings as there were cities. With civilization the monarchical power gradually decreased, and, with the exception of Macedonia, ultimately ceased.

Was it not the simplicity of the ancient Greeks that rendered them virtuous? Their Olympic games well deserved their world-wide fame, and well was the third victory sacred to Zeus—the Saviour; for the Olympic games at least had one great virtue—they withdrew the ancient Greeks from the love of riches, and made them ambitious of fame, rather than be—what Great Britain has become—the slave of riches.

Alas! what does our Christianity do for England, fettered and allied to State and riches as it now is, where corruption abounds? Will it admit of comparison with the Olympian Zeus, even in having so successfully withdrawn men from the love of riches? Until this be effected, their undermining effects will ever be exhibited by bad laws. Where is now the Nemesis, rewarding the best efforts of the good and just?

Good laws must be somewhere, where good people are either

in power, or hold the evil in check. The private character of good, the principle of integrity, and the intelligence of wisdom and prudence, must be regarded as first qualifications; titles, wealth, and grandeur, as secondary qualifications. Until this be recognized and practised, the preparations for pure laws have not commenced. Then the regal power could be built up upon a solid basis, even while the country was gradually assuming a democratic form.

Let every man retain his wealth and his property, but be taxed in proportion to its excess. Let that very excess disqualify rather than qualify a political standing; let the very opposite of what now is, become the regulating medium. Let there be no false eulogies, no indolence nor anarchy, no extravagance nor shamelessness, shining with a great retinue, and wearing crowns without virtue. No longer shall we delude our people by calling insolence good breeding, liberty anarchy, luxury magnificence, and impudence manliness. Let every and all such fashionable perversions, so prevalent in this day, be discountenanced and discontinued. While England has so virtuous and good a Queen, let her regal power be placed upon a true basis, in order to give solidity and durance to her dynasty; for what is it that endangers a throne? It never was virtue yet; it never was the good and true combined—it never was First Principles: but the opposite of all this. Render the throne secure, then, by the best of principles that be; not by anything secular in principle, which is ever the stepping-stone to compromise, ever leading to the vicious.

I agree with Plato, that tyranny may arise out of democracy, as it arises out of all other forms of government: he admitted the same, for he asserts that “aristocracy is apt to merge into oligarchy, and monarchy into tyranny.”\*

Now an oligarchy is a tyrannical form of Government *per se*, hence he shows that all his forms of government degenerate into tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, monarchy, democracy, and timocracy.

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\* Book VIII., Argument p. 232.

Plato seems to corroborate all my former remarks, for he plainly sums up his "Republic" by admitting the most just to be the most happy. "The first in happiness, and the second and the rest in order, five in all: the regal, the timocratic, the oligarchal, the democratic, and the tyrannic. Easy, indeed, is this decision," said he, "for as they came before us, I have judged of them as public actors, by their virtue and their vice; happiness, and its contrary. Shall I declare myself, that the son of Ariston has judged the best and justest man to be the happiest; and that this is the man who is fittest to be as king, and as king, too, over himself; and that the worst and the most unjust is the most wretched; and that he is the most tyrannical, who, in the greatest degree, tyrannizes over himself and the State."\*

## CHAPTER CXIX.

### WHY HAVE NOT THE STATE AND THE PROTESTANT CHURCH ADOPTED PLATO?

It has long been a matter of astonishment to me, that our State church is not imbued with the sentiments of Plato. Is it because the course of years has allowed one encroachment and another to fall upon the people's just rights, till justice is found to be incompatible with their versions of the traditional and scriptural dogmas, so that the very persistence of Plato on the viciousness of injustice has rendered him less acceptable to the loaves-and-fish-getting Protestant Church? Is it because the good and the true are so emphatically set forth in Plato, as the soul-vitalizing principle, energetic, and ever active in the

\* Book IX. c. vii. p. 270.

cause of purity of motive, which could only result in the right exercise of power, not the present abuse of it? Is it because that Church, in the face of tradition and Scripture, has grasped too much for virtue, that it would wish to ignore its advocacy; has trifled with justice till it can make no mention of it in her pulpit, lest it be seen to be the great national mote that must first be pulled out of their own eyes? How comes it, that Virgil, Homer, and Aëron, the voluptuous and obscene Horace and Juvenal are so preferred in our colleges and universities, instead of Plato, Zeno, and Socrates—the Stoic philosophy especially?

Is it impossible that the State Church so allies itself to all the corruptions of our Government, so lending a helping hand to Statecraft, that it can become entirely oblivious of the injunction, “Love your neighbour”? Is it not a rod of terror they hold up for the people’s adoration, rather than the emblem of love to all? Can any church in our day long continue to preach openly the identity of God with themselves, as of old, saying, “Love *God*, above all things, *and us His ministers* ;” though they have become unjust stewards, substituting their ministry for the last part of that comprehended in the first, “Love thy neighbour as thyself”?

It is time blind homage ceased in a church calling itself reformed, when at the same time it opposes itself to everything progressive, and, had it the power, would denounce and punish the reformer now, as did the priestcraft Galileo, because it did not answer their purpose to have their errors exposed, nor their sacerdotal blunders enunciated to the world?

Can we not trace every church from that of Adam, to have degenerated into the love of error, rather than the light of truth; because the error perpetuated their immunities, and the exposure of error might dissipate those advantages? Had they not loved themselves more than the true Church—the true spirit of light and truth, the perpetuating misery would never have been inflicted upon man; that misery which selfishness ever inflicts upon the neighbour, taking more than is meet, leaving to your neighbour less than is meet. All this arises



out of the State laying hold of the Church, to strengthen the Government. This is an ancient practice, the hierarchical remains of this day; but bad as it is ancient, because it enables the powerful to add to its power, by which it might the better exercise tyranny and oppression; because the people are deprived of their right of political influence; the effect of which is too evident, that injustice is even now prevailing over justice, which is opposed to Plato's belief, that the "just man will twice prevail over the unjust: the third victory now, as at the Olympic games, is sacred to Olympian Zeus, the Saviour?"\*

## CHAPTER CXX.

WHAT, THEN, SHALL FORM AN ELEMENTAL BASIS FOR THE GOVERNMENT GROUNDED UPON FIRST PRINCIPLES?

A JUST equilibrium of power must ever be maintained, by the Government and the people. Any preponderance is an infraction. An hierarchy, therefore, is throwing a sacerdotal preponderance in the favour of State power, which is an infraction upon equilibrium. The true basis, therefore, is not a far-fetched maximum, but is simple and ever present; it is "*the love of God supremely, and the love of man as a neighbour,*" comparatively, or as thyself.

Or as Zeno *wished to live* in the world, as *if nothing* was properly his own. He loved others, and his affections were extended even to his enemies.†

Or as Plato. "Virtue is to be pursued as the true good of the soul."

\* Book IX. c. ix. p. 273.

† Cic Acad. 1, 6, 12, de Nat. D. 1 c., 14, 1, 2, c.

If our Church be a true Church, it can never be opposed to a form of Government based upon the highest authority for both ancient and modern guidance. A church must look well to what it encourages ; it has not the excuse of saying, I have a right to be Tory, or Whig, or Liberal. A Church has only a right to be just ; in Governmental matters to be perfectly neutral. Is the Church such in our day ? Can it ever be neutral, so long as its bishops take their seats in the House of Peers ? Are they there to inculcate, through the Divine injunction, to the law lords, and to the old earls of the realm : *i. e.*, love to God and the neighbour ? How comes it, then, that these law lords and earls, together with the bishops, by far the greater part of them, ever advocate exclusive laws, opposed to the love of the neighbour ? How comes it, that they seem so unmindful of the just rights that belong to all honest and educated men, because poor ? How is it they are not the very first to redress the grievances of the helpless, hard-working, ever working, respectable peasant or artisan ? How comes it, they so violate their mission, that they have grown indifferent to the love of the poor neighbour, the extension of the franchise to every working man that can read and write, and is found to be daily and yearly toiling from early to late ? Is not their *very application* TO LABOUR UNCEASINGLY, A QUALIFICATION IN ITSELF TO A VOTE ? Ought it to be withheld by the very lawn sleeves whose calling is to teach that love of the neighbour ? which is the true spirit of religion, not of politics. Why is not, then, the love of God and man the basis of our Legislature ? The answer is too palpable ; for were they even to remain neutral in political concerns, they must ever inculcate that glorious injunction ; their religious principles would then be guiding the hearts and minds of the rich and the poor to love their neighbour as themselves ; to withhold not from them, high nor low, the justice to whom justice is due.

To whom is the solemn warning applicable : “Thou unprofitable servants, cast them into outer darkness, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth” ? Take heed, thou hoary-headed, sinning Church ; teach henceforth the love of God and

man, and practise the teaching, instead of the love of titles, riches, and human humiliation and degradation, for the many. Hadst thou, oh Church, been doing thy duty to all men, before now the love of God and man would have become the basis of our Legislature.

Shall we not say of our Church, what Socrates said of Homer? "If you be not the third from the truth, with regard to virtue, as being the artificer of an image, but rather the second, and can discern what pursuits render men better or worse, in private as well as public, tell us which of the states has been better constituted by you; as Lacedæmon was by Lycurgus, and great and small cities by many others; but, as respects yourself, what state is it that acknowledges you to have been a law-giver, and to have done them good service? Italy and Sicily acknowledge Charondas, and we Solon; but who acknowledges you"?\* But what war in Homer's days is recorded to have been conducted by him? Not one.

What good can the industry of Great Britain have to record, as having been conducted by the Church, that ever extended just privileges to the deserving working people? Charitable men have built churches, schools, and colleges, and endowed them; have built almshouses and hospitals, but what has the Church done towards even these things? Some things have they undone. Tell us how our State has ever been better constituted, by bishops sitting in the upper house? Have they ever hinted at the corruptions going on all around them in our wars in China and India, in that of Oude especially, or at home, amongst the law lords, for the most part? Do they bring forward measures of virtue, to constrain the iniquitous adjudications of the law lords? Not one.

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\* Book X. c. 4.

## CHAPTER CXXI.

THE REGAL GOVERNMENT, BASED UPON FIRST PRINCIPLES,  
MUST BE INEXCLUSIVE.

NONE shall be excluded, but all shall be included, into our model State, that shut not themselves out by actions within their own control, excepting only the hierarchy. We except neither the aristocracy, the oligarchy, nor the democracy. The landowners, to whom the aristocracy correspond, have shown themselves to have been less greedy than the money-holders, who correspond to the oligarchy, more especially, but not altogether, for they are fast merging one into the other. Finding in these a power within themselves mighty, and which must be lasting, because of their wealth, their power becomes self-existent. No injury can accrue to such magnitude of power that shall be consistently exercised by a third power, that *per se* is upholding the two first by supplying labour for a *quid pro quo*, of portions of that wealth—viz., the people, to which the democracy corresponds. Nor will any injury accrue to the people of industry by the two former powers existing, under just laws, based upon First Principles. Then all must act co-ordinately. Now, the numerical consideration of the democratical party is only balanced by the magnitude and enormity of wealth by the two other powers, the aristocratic and the oligarchic: so that the political denominations of neither aristocracy, of oligarchy, nor of democracy, need cease; but be allowed to protect their respective interests under one regal Head; each and all loyally striving to be the upholders of our GOOD QUEEN VICTORIA and her descendants—never dreaming at any time to change the dynasty; for of all the evils that could fall upon a great country, that would be the greatest. A change of dynasty would open up new feuds, augment factions, multiply interests, all of which must partake largely of selfishness, rather than of nationality; the result of which would be, the building up of some man who was at the same



time building up his own house rather than the nation's welfare.

Europe has furnished us with some remarkable illustrations of this fact, even when corruption was at its nadir—even when governmental crime was flagrant and unbearable, as it was in France during the time of Louis XVI. to Louis XVIII. For that period furnished Europe with a remarkable fact—that while the king was in part a good man, the government was a bad government. Had Napoleon sought to build up the government of Louis XVIII. and his dynasty, rather than build himself up, he might have been useful, living, and beloved by all to this day. Had the *love of use* been greater in him than the *love of pride and ambition*, how well might he have served his country and all Europe!

The thorough patriot and true statesman would rather be a king-maker than a king, even after reflecting well upon the Earl of Warwick's history.

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## CHAPTER CXXII.

LOVE SHALL FORM THE ELEMENTAL BASIS FOR THE GOVERNMENT GROUNDED UPON FIRST PRINCIPLES.

THE great medium of a wise Government is a yielding nature—a yielding to the national mind, that is ever progressive. For want of this nature, bodies swung at Tyburn, martyrs were burnt at Bartholomew, the Huguenots were flagellated and massacred in France; and all to oppose then that which we now adopt as law. Governments and individuals hold themselves too much in the negatives of progress; and, shameful to say, Churches, of all else, are organized negations to progress.

Chemistry illustrates the indispensability of affirmation, in order to accomplish amalgamation. Caloric is the medium appli-

cable to even heterodox—happy compounds of the oleaginous liquids, the vegetable and the solid mineral take place by fire and heat. As heat is the analogy and the synonym of love, this love is the moral amalgamating medium in man, by which factional interests may with safety unite.

If the people of England allow the aristocracy and oligarchy to retain a portion of their governmental *status*, certainly the latter, in all fairness, must allow the people, or the democracy, to have their political *status*, in the way of a representation in Parliament. Who can truly LOVE their neighbour as themselves, that withholds their consent to the enfranchisement of the honest and well-working sons of toil? The Tory must yield to the Liberal party genuinely, and the Liberal to the Conservative principle genuinely, by which a thorough, not a pseudo-Whig is compounded; not the Whig of this day, but the true Whig that is to be. For when the true love of the neighbour is the ruling medium of either Conservative, Whig, or Liberal, little difference exists.

At least, Christians are expected to be as true to their Scripture as were the Mohammedans to their Kôran. If the love of the neighbour be not recognized in exclusively in our constitution, why we are a living lie to Christianity. We no longer base our laws upon it—we no longer recognize it as the standard of all law and all practice, even as do the Mohammedans their Kôran. How squares our present franchise with the Scripture?

We know the exclusive advocates will excuse themselves, as they have ever done, by the asserted necessity of a property qualification; and the very same men will call themselves Christians; yea, the very Episcopalian bishops will say the same, and vote against the honest sons of toil, because they have not property. So would such selfish men vote against Jesus Christ, for He had no property! They must first prove that the Bulwark of their Church was disqualified because of His poverty—because He had not where to lay His head! Why, we are worse than Herod, or Peter, that denied him thrice! We are an hourly and momentary negation to the true spirit and practice of Christianity!

There is a modern writer on Christian Theism, an exponent of Atheism, because it raises some difficulties on the practicability of some of the injunctions in the book in which God is ever "revealing Himself;" but there is nothing impracticable to the genuine, the thorough character. The appearance of its impracticability to the Atheist might arise from the distant relation in which he stands unto the Ineffable.

But do not our Episcopalian men practically entertain a worse view than that in common with the Atheist, or why do they in practice deny the grand essential injunctions of love?

If the Church deny the practicability of love now, it can only be because they stand in a wrong relation to it themselves. The advanced generalization of knowledge has prepared a psychological adaptation to this epoch for the adoption of just, if not benevolent laws; the absence of which is distinctly recognized as unfair and unjust, and altogether identical with its opposite, hate. When the universal propaganda becomes the negation of their hate—this self-love, then may we hope, with C. C. Hennell, that "when men shall all come to recognize their highest pleasure in diffusing happiness, and shall seek the good of all with as much earnestness as their own; when sincerity shall be as common as profession, and the advanced intellect of mankind be subservient to equally advanced morality—what a luxuriant scene of happiness may not be anticipated on this earth! General knowledge, united with general benevolence, must banish all relics of crime and misery, and mankind live a happy brotherhood."\*

The one object in view points to the same haven in all political denominations, when love reigns triumphant—viz., Justice to All. Exclusiveness is the absence of this amalgamating medium; for whom we love, we include—those for whom we have no love, we exclude.

Legislators, of all men, should be loveful in our Model State, or they cannot be inclusive. No State can be genuine that is exclusive collectively; the exceptions, criminally, form not

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\* "Christian Theism," p. 55, by C. C. Hennell.

the rule. The true and the good, whether high or low, are certainly as worthy an earthly citizenship as they are a heavenly; the latter is declared unto them by God—the former is denied them by man. So much for human legislation.

Out of this exclusiveness we must come—progress, order, justice, demand it; the good must prevail on earth yet. The regal Government must be based upon First Principles, before the kingdom can come which will restore to man the Eden lost.

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## CHAPTER CXXIII.

### MONEY IS POWER.

IN 1857, Government did right in extending the issue; the reservation of Government in not allowing the Bank of England to appropriate the proceeds of that issue to their own excessively accumulated wealth is good; but such inordinate capital can endanger the whole State again in a very short time, even with this extension. The greater the issue given to any one body, the greater their circulating medium becomes—the greater is their power of controlling the monetary world, whether for good or for evil.

Now, since money is power as well as knowledge—both of which the Governors and Directors of the Bank of England have given us vast and ample evidence of their possessing to a dangerous degree—is it not prudent for Government to consider seriously to what extent they endanger the whole nation by leaving any one body corporate to become so unwieldy?

It must be evident to every prudent statesman that no one company ought to possess too much influence over the nation, so as to make it suffer and tremble by the selfish exercise of a power that was given for national, not for selfish purposes.



Money *per se* is powerful ; but when in the hands of subtle and acute observers, such as constitute the Directors of the Bank of England, with their every day's practice and long experience in the monetary world, what overwhelming power has the nation held over it *in terrorem*, at the mercy of crafty and cunning persons, that have given us enough evidence of late that they know how to enrich themselves entirely at the nation's expense and sufferings.

It certainly answers the purpose of the Bank to have only one idea and one means only in checking the *soi-disant* speculation, *i.e.*, the raising the rate of discount, the only way that has been suggested by the wise-heads in Threadneedle-street, and yet these wise-heads know well that the money they let out has a given day for payment, and the refusal to renew the accommodation which they themselves originally induced, superinduces a plausible excuse for raising the rate of interest, while it more and more cripples the borrower, until he becomes dangerous to these wise-heads, when they knock him up as if he were a thing not worth a mention.

It must be well known that the money which is paid for high rates of discount is greater than the profits of trade when reduced to its net amount. Now, the monetary men have only to continue this policy of high rates long enough, and the money must be fast going out of the hands of trade and commerce, and just as fast going into the hands of the bankers and money-lenders ; and this state of things continued will bring the whole nation ultimately to bow before the shrine of gold, as if it were the god of the universe, instead of that which it will be found to be—the demon destroyer of all fair play.

What was Lord Palmerston doing when he recommended to the Bank the minimum rate of 10 per cent. ? He was doing that which a legislator ought not to do, much less a Premier ; he need not encourage ruin faster than it will come in its natural course upon the victims of these wise-heads.

Our Premier should have spoken boldly to the bankers of England, and told them *they were the promoters of speculation*

*themselves*, and the starters of all extensive schemes, however wild, in whatever country, with whomever they can find energetic enough to risk their all, and, what is much worse, more than their all.

Our legislators should inquire what has been the result of the abolition of the usury laws? Has it stopped speculation? Has it checked speculation more than the use of the usury laws did? But, above all, has it benefited the bankers above all others? Lastly, does not that enhanced position of the bankers of England, arrived at by high rates of discount, endanger the whole country, and lessen the prerogative of the Crown?

Shall the nation, through the Government, govern this country, or shall the directors of the Bank of England govern, independently of either people or Government?

The power of knowledge is great enough, and when unconnected with a commensurate amount of the good intention of national advancement, is dangerous enough; but the power of gold made to subserve the selfish and the sordid intention of individual advancement at the expense of all else, is menacing in the extreme, and will before long destroy England, as it did Greece, as it did Rome; because that which destroys the moral power of a nation destroys the nation itself, soul and body.

No more issue must be allowed to the Bank of England than they already possess; their excessive capital and command of the circulating medium render them defiant and ungovernable. Our Iron Duke, who vanquished the greatest conqueror of the day, was not only mastered by this strategical board of money plotters, but was compelled to beat an ignoble retreat from the pinnacle of power which he held as the first minister of his day.

A convertibility of an issue is necessary, but not always the convertibility of gold is essential; the bullionists ever associate convertibility with gold, and they would have us ignore the great fact that some value was given for that gold; there was something antecedent so the adoption of gold as a standard, which obtained or purchased gold; let us never forget that without

that something prior to the gold standard itself, gold would have no value. The equivalent is first given before the gold is produced. What is that equivalent? Why, TOIL? that vulgar thing, toil—labour—work. So falsely refined have the cunning traffickers in gold become, that they despise the base degrees by which they did ascend, and assert that gold is more important than the means which produced it; and so it is, but only to the perverted polluter of its original purpose. Gold was the standard of value of what? Of all industrial produce, instead of what it now is, the standard of value of all able tricksters, deep-headed plotters, idle, unproductive feeders upon the worthy, confiding sons of toil.

Now, since that which preceded gold (taking gold as a standard of value because of its less variability of supply) was toil, where can there be danger in having another representation of the same, which has been fairly measured and exacted, in the shape of Government taxes and duties? The absolute antecedent itself, with the whole nation as a guarantee for its convertibility into, not gold, but into the taxes which everyone has to pay, Government receiving it as legal tender instead of gold or bank paper.

No better name can be given for this issue than that of Exchequer Notes.

Exchequer bills would no longer be necessary, because Government issuing one-fourth of the collections of taxes which amount in round figures to, say, 80 millions, would no longer be under an obligation to the Bank of England in getting advances upon Exchequer bills; the Government could then throw off the menacing position which every Government is placed in which receives advances from a bank. Holding 20 millions of the currency back for the 20 millions of issue, the ruling power would be free to check the unfair promoters of speculation that are now defiant.

The opponents of this system will endeavour to associate Exchequer notes with the French assignats, but they will be found on investigation to bear no analogy whatever. Assignats depreciated because of the constant dynastic changes that were

taking place in France: revolutions that were so frequently taking place, and altogether, because of the instability of the French governments. But England is in no fear of a change of dynasty; she has no revolutions, and is the most stable Government in the whole world. The Bank might try in vain to bring the Exchequer notes to a discount, but "no gold convertibility" would frustrate their every attempt; the absolute labour and tax convertibility would show a bold front against its bullionist opponents.

The sordid practices of the great bankers of England, which are now identical with the Bank of England, have rendered such a step indispensable. Their one mode of checking, by means of high rates of discount, the speculation they themselves induced, is a glaring injustice; as well might our judges of the land, *because one man has committed a capital offence, condemn the whole nation to be hung, as that the Bank of England should punish by high discounts every honest man for the over-speculation of some.* Another mode of checking the accommodation paper can be adopted; pass a law that every man requiring accommodation shall make a declaration of all his property, a registration of which would be the guide to every man what his paper is worth; make a false declaration penal, and limit the extent of the advances, and the rate of interest upon the declared property, by law.

Some plan of this kind, or some other invention, could be adopted were it profitable to the Bank; but no such plan will they adopt, because it would not work up such profit as the present corrupt system of making all pay: hanging all for one is the lucrative plan of Threadneedle-street. At the same time they exercise a semblance of prudence and put on the screw, simultaneously do they find the money-making process doubled to themselves, but halved to the merchants, if not quartered; this process has only to be continued long enough, and the banker must become all-powerful, because rich; the merchant must become all-powerless, because poor.

It certainly must be seen that we want the usury laws again, to stop this career of defective practices; the absence of the



usury laws has had the very opposite effect to what it was assigned. Their absence has undeniably promoted speculation, because it has given the bankers a double motive for inducing speculation,—first, because the greater the speculation, the higher the rate of interest becomes; secondly, the rate of interest, though high, when a panic ensues can be made still higher; prudentially bearing with it the act of caution concurrent with the act of profit. Limit the rate of interest to 5 per cent., and you do away with the first, *i.e.*, the greater the speculation, then no higher rates of interest would be allowed; secondly, because the rate of interest could not then be made high by a panic. Lessen the inducement for the frequent use of the screw which has characterized the Bank of England since they succeeded in removing the usury laws.

It will be said by my opponents, that other nations contributed to bring about the present panic, and it was inevitable and imperative on the Bank of England to raise discounts. America, France, and the Indian war combined, rendered it unavoidable. I admit the fact, but of the mode of dealing with the fact I disapprove. Had the same combined circumstances taken place, and were the maximum rate limited to 5 per cent., the loss to the commercial world would have been far less, and the profits to the banks far less; but, beyond all, Jonathan would never have had rope enough to hang himself up in the way he has, had it been 5 per cent. maximum ever since 1847, nor would the banks of France have found it practicable to have combined with the Bank of England to act in concert in rates of interest; a combination that presents a new feature of danger. Nor could India have made an offer of 6 per cent., to induce so large a loan, had the law been 5 per cent.; hence the excessive drain of bullion can in part be traced to its primary cause, *i.e.*, high rates. Another cause, of course, can be assigned, that commerce having increased to such an extent, our exports showing from 110 to 122 millions, instead of 60 millions a little time ago, must require a greater circulating medium, bearing some proportion to its increase, which we have not had, which has driven, *nolens volens*, the houses of com-

merce to have recourse to some kind of fictitious extension *pro tem.*, all of which has benefited one class of traders, the bankers, at the expense of all else, because of unlimited interests, enabling all money-lenders to profit by the defects in the law. I deny *in toto* the justice of making high rates of interest a proper mode of checking speculation, just as I deny the right of hanging all the country for the murder of some.

I also consider it unjust to destroy the invariability of any standard of value. Gold was chosen because of its less variability of value. Wool, wheat, cotton, and silk fluctuate in supply, and in one year are worth double the price of another year; not so with gold. All the supplies of Peru, California, and Australia have not even supplied the demand, much less caused a fluctuation of supply so as to depreciate its value. Hence, it was, and is, the best commodity for a standard of value; because it represents the value of labour in obtaining it, more steadily than anything else; it measures toil more evenly, because toil is more even in its application to obtain it. But what was the Government about when they did their worst by countenancing a tendency in the very measure of value itself? By removing the usury laws, they make gold sometimes worth 5 per cent., sometimes 20 per cent., giving it a fluctuation in value immediately, and thereby depriving it of its invariability. The advantage of weights and measures of 16 ounces to the lb., or 4 pecks to the bushel, is, that no one can dispute the statute, or compact, because it is fixed. The advantage of gold as a measure of value was equally, that no one can dispute its compact, because of its fixity of value, but destroying that fixity was tantamount to giving 13 ounces for a lb., or three pecks to the bushel, more or less, according to the caprice of the great holders of the produce.

It will be said that every thing fluctuates in value, why should not gold? I answer, that simply because gold is made a measure of value, and any alteration in the measure itself interferes with the compact, and causes great risk in purchase; *for instance, a merchant buys a hundred or a thousand casks of tallow, say, at 60l. per ton, to be delivered in London at a given*

*time : when the tallow arrives, say in six months afterwards, the money by which the purchase was made has undergone a great change, and instead of being worth 3 per cent., is worth 15 per cent. : this having interfered with the value of the price of tallow beyond that of demand and supply, something extraneous has stepped in to disarrange his calculations, and instead of gaining by his purchase, he might be ruined, and altogether incapacitate himself, notwithstanding, through a change that has taken place in the MEASURE OF VALUE. This I call an extraneous interference in commercial compacts, which no man ought to be subject to, which is dangerous to the whole world, and is one of the causes of the constant failures that are taking place, to the disgrace of our country.*

It is not enough to say, that gold is worth always £3 17s. 10½d. in England, or 25 francs and so many cents in France, with slight variations. We know well the rate of interest regulates the profit or loss, and that should be made as slightly variable as possible—never ought it to exceed 5 per cent.

Lord Palmerston, by urging the minimum rate of 10 per cent., was *de facto* and absolutely doubling the value of all available property throughout England, without doubling the amount of the value of labour, but, on the contrary, stopping the employ of labour, the effect of which must soon show itself in factory riots all over the country.

Making money that was commonly worth 5 per cent., to become worth 10 per cent., is doubling all available property in value.

## CHAPTER CXXIV.

THE POLICY OF THE WHIGS CONSIDERED WITH REGARD TO  
THE CURRENCY.

To whom shall we henceforth respectfully ascribe honours where honours are due? Who can now be a Whig, and have within him the advocacy of progress? Are not Whigs now the obstacle to all progress? It matters not in whatever shape any measure be brought before the House, that interferes with their line of policy, negation confronts it all; and progress is by them regarded as the hydra-headed monster which Hercules could not slay so long as it touched the earth, simply because it prevented his entrance into the garden of bliss. But their Elysian fields are stagnant waters, and barren, unproductive lands, symbolic of selfish aspirations and narrow-minded, sordid loves.

We have but to read the speeches upon the Currency and on the Bill of Indemnity, and we shall soon discover who are the opponents to the progress which the day demands. I no longer wish to have such friends. Save me from my friends! I no longer venture to assert my denomination of any one order of society, for I can no longer distinguish between Toryism and Whiggism, except that of the two I believe we may expect more from the former than the latter. Having carefully perused the speeches of both on all occasions, as on the present crisis, I can prove that it is a compliment to the Whigs to say they are all six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.

I am well aware that the party out of office can make calls for action on Government, which they themselves, when in office, were not energetic enough to accomplish, or circumstances might not have rendered practical at the time. But Lord Derby made an earnest effort to grapple with the difficulty of the day. After entering upon the detail of the distress of the operatives, he was the only man in the House of Peers that seemed to have a right fellow-feeling and estimation of their real position. He



said that "if the operatives had the good sense and judgment to abstain from that which could do them no good, and would produce nothing but evil—if they maintained a peaceable, respectful, orderly demeanour under these circumstances of such pressure—ALL HONOUR TO THE GOOD SENSE AND LOYALTY OF THE OPERATIVES."

Moreover, he furnished us with some new statistics; and asserted that, "while our exports had been 308 millions, the imports had been 468 millions, leaving a balance of 160 millions of imports over exports. How had those imports been paid for? The country had had to export 84 millions in bullion in consequence of the disparity between its imports and exports."

Lord Derby might have gone on to show that if we had altogether, in gold and goods, exported 76 millions less than we imported, that amount of 76 millions, at least of value, remained in the country, which was enough in itself to justify an extended circulation.

Increase of value of property justifies an increase of issue; but if it be said that these imports were not paid for, and the country remained in a state of indebtedness, the cause of the panic might be discovered to have had its origin in part to these excessive purchases and consignments, together with the decline of the Australian trade. But the goods were here, and could be offered as securities; therefore, with a sufficient issue, no panic need have arisen from any such cause; but with an insufficient issue, danger must ever attend an excess of imports over exports to the extent of 76 millions.

Now this would, apparently, exculpate the Bank of England from any charge of having induced this state of things, but for the known fact that their emissaries, in the shape of bankers and money-lenders, are everywhere urging new undertakings, themselves making large advances upon the same, whether speculative or not. It is well known that the large fast man is encouraged, even without capital; while the small, hard-working, plodding man, requiring the slightest assistance, never gets it.

Now for our friends. Lord Overstone backed the soundness of his 1844 crotchet against the prerogative of the Crown. He said :—"The quantity of money in the country was determined by sound principles, with which the prerogative of the Crown had nothing to do. The Act of 1844 was founded on two simple principles—1st, that gold was the money of England ; 2nd, that the quantity of money in the country should not be under the control of Government."

In the first place, I do not look upon the Crown as an individual prerogative, but as a national prerogative, personated by one individual ; "sound principles are also best arrived at by the combined intelligence of the nation, with which the prerogative of the Crown has all to do. Again, that the quantity of money should not be under the control of Government." This is an assumption of the touchy Old Lady of Threadneedle Street, that indicates dotage and incapacity to a serious extent. At the time when Walpole spent £1,300,000 upon the Civil List—when the Williams and the Georges had no limit to their squanderings and extravagance—when money was spent with such recklessness as to subsidize our enemies—such language as Lord Overstone's might then have been used ; but not when the most frugal of Sovereigns reigns in the hearts of her people, leaving her Government to make laws, to which she subscribes deferentially to the wisdom of her statesmen.

The money of the country should, of all things, be under the control of Government ; for Lord Overstone, in 1857, made himself transparent, and also made himself identical with the Bank of England. He could not help feeling chagrined when he threw off the mask unguardedly, saying, "What would be said, if the Government were to go to those who were suffering from the short supply of provisions, and say, We will undertake to get a larger supply of provisions, and sell them to you at the present price ?"

That was what was done at that time by the issue of the Government Letter. Herein is the solution of the Overstone crotchet : he would have no extension of issue, knowing well that the less the issue the higher the rate of interest can be

charged for all discounts, just as goods limited in supply till they become scarce become dear—just as the salmon fishermen throw overboard a lot of salmon, in order to keep the market barely supplied, so as to keep up the price. Neither Lord Overstone nor the Bank of England wishes an extension of issue, because it will interfere with their high rates arising out of scarcity, and their system of plucking the world.

“Free trade in money” becomes a farce with Sir R. Peel’s bill of 1844 in force. The contradiction in Lord Overstone’s remarks in the House, is characteristic of the confusion to which his policy must give rise. In one part of his speech he said, “The provisions of the Bill of 1844 were essential to the proper control of the monetary system of the exchanges, and could not be relaxed without danger.” Soon after he said, “If they had maintained the monetary system (1844) for twenty-four hours longer, the whole system would have been upset, to the irretrievable ruin of all those who had built on it” (including himself of course).

Altogether he handled his subject so badly, or he felt his weak points so forcibly, that to allude to him further would really be a compliment to him he does not deserve.

The Lord Chancellor’s remarks upon “the circulation of £38,000,000, and the only portion covered by bullion was that in the Bank of England, in addition to that issued on security,” may be well noticed; but bullion is not the only intrinsic commodity that should furnish convertibility to issue. Taxes and duties are as certain to exist in England as ever gold is—are as internal, real, and fixed in the nature of things as ever metal can be. We can no more get over paying taxes and duties than we can by paying in gold as long as notes are convertible. Exchequer notes, then, would have 70 or 80 millions of that which is analogous to bullion to cover an issue of, say 20 millions of Exchequer notes; were the reality of taxation convertibility adopted instead of bullion conversion.

Allow, then, the Bank of England to be regulated by the Bill of 1844, for the purposes of all foreign and mercantile operations, in order that no disarrangement might arise from

the exchanges ; but frame a Bill that shall legalize a domestic issue, that, from its very nature of fixity, can only be applicable to home purposes, such as Exchequer notes must necessarily be.

Let any statesman who might fancy any danger that could arise out of this issue on tax-convertibility, put down in figures the enormous amount of the wealth of Great Britain ; he will then see how small a proportion 20 millions is to that MIGHTY SUM, which would render Exchequer notes safer than gold, backed as it must be by the whole nation's worth.

An inquiry ought at once to be entered into, how far has the Bank of England (as the head and leader of the banks of England) *used* or *abused* the immunities it has enjoyed in its Bank Charter ? To what extent has its countenance to hypothecation given rise to the present failures ? In short, to what extent has the Bank acted sordidly and selfishly, instead of universally and nationally ?

This can best be arrived at by comparison, and analogy ; first, by comparison. We will take the English aristocracy—the original lords and landlords of Great Britain ; take the rent-rolls of the entire original landed proprietary within the last century, and see what rate of interest the lands of England pay ? Unselfishly have the good old lordly landlords acted, in not raising their rents at every rise of their tenants' produce, compared with the eager and grasping covetousness of the banking money-lender, not allowing a quarter per cent. to escape him, if a pretext (not an essential cause) can be raked out of the embers of the monetary consumption ? Let only the honest man answer this inquiry, Will the moneyed lord bear any comparison to the old landlords of England ? The answer is, Lands pay from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., while money pays, in the hands of bankers, the Bank of England especially, 15 to 20 per cent. nett and upwards.

A great fact has again to be acknowledged, that the bankers are, for the greater part, Whigs, while the old landed aristocracy, for the greater part, are Conservatives ; and, the truth shall be spoken, they (the landlords) do conserve their immunity integral to their credit, and to the satisfaction of the



nation, compared with the money-exacting Shylock, that will have his pound of flesh out of the Antonio of the struggling commerce of 1860. Yes, "the law allows it, and the court awards it;" augmented interest, quarter upon quarter per cent., is added, till half upon half, and one upon one, make up the round sum of 10 per cent. minimum, and by law is enforced; so nicely does the Bank of England dovetail its interest with the Palmerstonian policy. But where is the good Portia of our day to successfully plead the cause of *justice* against this money oppression in this select committee?

Why do not the old lords of the land say, "We must raise our rents in order to prevent any one coming on to our estate that is a man of straw," thereby punishing all their tenantry for one? As well might they raise their  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of rent-roll to 10 per cent. to all, making, as the banks of England do, an addition of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to their capital, equivalent to an augmentation of capital to the extent of three thousand pounds for every one thousand, turning one into four. As well might the physician double and quadruple his fees, the parson his tithes, the manufacturer his prices, the farmer his produce; but, the labourer, who is the primary producer of all, who, instead of doubling and quadrupling his salary, has absolutely to receive less pay, has to work short time, and even live without employ, because of the sordidness of money-makers, that do not blush to make an inordinate profit at the expense of starvation for the artisan.

Will, then, this lord of money admit of any comparison with the lord of land? Better might we admit Dean Swift's comparison of women and the clouds.

Every day discovers to us some new feature of bad practices induced by bankers themselves. The case of Syers, Walker, and Syers was an *exposé* of the facility given to the fast men, without any capital at all, with one only of visionary figures: the bankrupts came to the court with 1s. 2d. in the pound, though pledging goods and hypothecation; they had liabilities to the extent of a quarter of a million sterling. In two years there was a sweeping item of £34,744, for general expenses—

the full particulars of which appeared in the *Times*. "They had traded to the extent of £1,000,000 in two years, without any capital," by pledging goods as soon as they came, and getting bills discounted.

Now, these men received a second-class certificate, and no further punishment for their conduct. But what shall be said of the Oriental and other banks, that made the advances to within 15 or 20 per cent. of the value of the goods? And the system was such that a man could thus go on for millions. This tells the tale that the bankers induce the speculation, and even aid and abet the fraud, knowing they can fall back upon high rates of discount to pay for any losses that occasionally occur. This is a strong instance that high interest, while it inflicts a punishment upon the innocent and industrious, at the same time opens up a field for the speculator and fraudulent trickster, which low rates of interest would not encourage. One of two alternatives are left for the Government to act upon, in order to remove the frequent recurrence of these disgraceful disclosures. The rates of interest must be kept uniformly low, either by limiting the maximum to 5 per cent., or by adopting a new issue, called Exchequer notes, payable in taxation to the extent of 20 millions; the latter would, by increasing the circulating medium, have the effect of rendering money more abundant, and in due course would reduce the rates of discount to a wholesome mediocracy.

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## CHAPTER CXXV.

### EXCHEQUER NOTES.

IN as short a space as shall be consistent with the object in view, I give the reasons why Exchequer notes will not be adopted by our Government, constituted as it is at present. First Principles must be regarded and properly estimated

before that which would benefit the majority of the country will ever be the basis of legislation. \*

Notwithstanding the increase of bullion in 1857 was close upon £3,000,000, being £2,967,000 from the lowest point when the Government Letter was issued—notwithstanding the increase of the reserve of notes and coin in the Banking department make together £6,282,295, gold continuing to arrive from various resources, the amount already received from the United States found to be considerably in excess of the amount shipped since the beginning of the crisis—the Bank would not reduce the rate until the Directors felt quite confident that they could safely return the £2,000,000 of additional securities to the Banking department.

Notwithstanding the Bank could no longer pin France to their high rates, the latter having reduced its rate to 6 per cent., the Bank of England adhered to her darling adopted 10 per cent., with all the tenacity of a miser, regardless of all else but self; her much-devoted *Economist* assigning no other reason, *de facto*, for her doing so than because “she can get it,” we might be quite sure her third-class principle of action will remain inviolate as long as “she can get it”—10 per cent.

The words of the *Economist* were:—“As long as the demand upon the Bank of England continues so great as to maintain the securities at so high an amount, it would not be a safe step to hazard any material reduction in the rate of discount.” This is a fine specimen of ambiguity—a true genius for turning things upside down. What a famous mountebank he would make, to stand upon his head, riding the horse of many colours round the endless ring!

History furnishes us with the reason for all this. Bankers have discovered that themselves and the money-dealers are benefited whenever produce can be kept low, simply because then £1 is the purchase power of 30s. worth of goods, when they were 50 per cent. higher; that class of men having their money to spend, expend less money when produce is low; less money is in circulation among commercial hands; hence more is in the bankers' hands. High prices of produce, of course,

produce the contrary effect. Now, of course, it is the business of the Bank to retain money in their own hands. They have two ways of doing so: one is by keeping produce low; the other is by keeping discounts high. Ever since 1819 they have acted upon that policy to the best of their ability.

During the wars from 1797 to 1815 the very reverse of that policy was pursued. The other extreme, we know, was practised. Paper was the substitute for the precious metals—the issue was inconvertible. The extreme of inconvertibility of that day enables the bullionist to refer to it as an example and a specimen of such currency; and although it brought the nation through its dangers prosperously and triumphantly, at a time when scarcely a guinea was left in the country, a wanton recklessness of Government brought the nation into an indebtedness beneficial to the money dealers only that survived 1825, at the expense of all else. The error is as great now upon restriction as it was then upon extension; but there is this fact, that it opened the eyes of monetary men to the side of policy which peculiarly benefited them.

A violent contraction or extension must ever be attended with dangerous results. Hence the Bill of 1819 furnished evidence of the evils resulting from the sudden contractions, as 1797 did of extension; but its duration was not so great, for in 1822 Government gave an extension to the currency for ten years, during which small notes were to be retained in circulation.

Notice the lowering of all articles of produce just in proportion to the currency in circulation. In 1818 it was £48,278,070; in 1822 it was £26,588,000. During this reduction the price of all produce was falling *pro rata* till it reached 50 per cent. below the prices of 1818. Of course the effects of the South American revolution, reducing the supply of the precious metals to a third of its former amount, rendered the inopportune Bill of 1819 more disastrous than it could have been, had it not rendered paper the representative of gold only—as if paper is not *bonâ fide* and *de facto* a better currency when it represents registered property declared and published.



Any accident happening to the supplies of gold now produces the same effect upon us as did the South American revolution ; in fact, a temporary and comparatively small withdrawal of bullion now produces a panic of overwhelming magnitude, showing how highly sensitive are we become now by the restriction of 1844, and for want of a currency independent and unconnected with gold, that now so fluctuates in supply and demand. Taxation issue would leave none of these fluctuations of supply, and would form a better convertibility than gold on that account. Whilst no better security can exist than property, gold certainly is not better. Exchequer notes, unconnected with the Bank of England, would keep the latter in wholesome check, and prevent many of the tricks that a gold convertibility now facilitates. This is the very reason why we are not likely to obtain it, as our Government is at present constituted. The banks do not intend to have any alteration to the facilities they now possess in turning every monetary change to their own advantage ; they do not intend to forego the great advantages of buying produce for little of that money, and at the same time charging double for their contracted currency—certainly a very fine game for the banks to play ; but in just the proportion is it as ugly a game for producers and commerce to play.

Certainly every reflective mind must discover that an insufficient circulation must enhance the price of its interest, as it must also lower the price of produce in general ; great care do the bankers take, therefore, to perpetuate this state of things—the best of all reasons why we shall not have Exchequer notes, if they can help it.

If any yet doubt that a contracted currency has the effect of reducing the price of produce, I refer them to Alison's "History," from 1815 to 1852, vol. iii. p. 671, &c. ; also to Porter, third edition, p. 359 ; also to Tooke "On Prices," vol. ii. pp. 390, 401.

It is said by superficial observers, "So much the better, the lower the prices the less we have to pay, and the better position are we in to export ;" but they forget that this is the language

the bankers can use with satisfaction to themselves, but not at all compatible with the producer's living by his produce, whether manufactures or otherwise. It is never beneficial to industry to receive half its reward.

The Malthusian advocacy must to every progressive mind be seen to be so deficient, I shall not waste time here to disprove it. Stimulants to industry I have always found to be compatible with high prices. As we pay our best and most skilful hands the most money, the least skilful, the least wage, so it is with the nation—improve the price of produce, and all producers are benefited by it, since it is their article of commerce, their only representation of payment's measurement. The horrid Malthusian idea that “goad a man to starvation, and you drive him to industry,” has been pretty well illustrated of late by the ticket-of-leave men. Goad men to starvation, and you force them to rob; encourage them by remunerating pay, and you find them improving mentally, morally, and bodily. Now for exports. It is said that we by low prices extend our exports; how is it Germany does not carry the export trade before them? Or France? Or America? The question must be answered. Countries that are increasing in wealth so rapidly as those to which we export prefer quality and elegance to cheapness (nearly all except the Cape do); the best brands are the goods that pay the best; the best marks of manufactures the same. But of greater importance than all is the capital among the producers: the greater their capital, the greater their command of exports—reduce their capital, and you reduce the source of industrial employ; by a contracted currency you endanger both these advantages. As colonies and countries improve in means, so quality and elegance are estimated more and more. Now the contracted view of the Bank of England not only fetters England, but affects all the world more or less. Merchants everywhere are liable to their sudden changes of tact, and, consequently, their ruinous influences, wherever man has set his foot.

It must not, therefore, be overlooked that if prices of produce range high in England, they will elsewhere. The little timid

manufacturer, partaking a little of the Jewish tribe, fancies his only chance is low prices; while the larger manufacturer, renowned for his quality and style, relies implicitly upon both the quality and style for his vast demand. All merchants know well the producer and manufacturer of brand and mark compose the grand bulk of exports in amount. The timid little traders, at low prices, are merely exceptional. I assert, therefore, that our exports depend more upon our *prestige* than upon our price, as the world happens now to roll over.

The fact then is established, that high prices of produce benefit the producers nationally and mercantilely; the only men that would not, to the same extent, be able to make their fortunes at the expense of all commerce, would be the bankers and money-lenders; that is why we do not have Exchequer notes!

Nothing can more fully corroborate the principle, that prices are regulated by the extension or contraction of the currency, than the statistics furnished by Alison's "History" from the year 1820 to 1824, in reference to stamps for country bank notes issued on 10th October, and the average price of wheat:—

				Average price of Wheat per Qr.	
				s.	d.
Year 1820.	. . .	£3,574,894	. . .	54	6
„ 1821.	. . .	3,987,582	. . .	49	6
„ 1822.	. . .	4,217,241	. . .	38	11
„ 1823.	. . .	4,657,589	. . .	52	8
„ 1824.	. . .	4,822,174	. . .	64	3

Justly, then, the notes issued from 1820 to 1822 indicate the struggle the country banks had in maintaining issue enough for commerce till 1822, when the extension of the currency had the effect of immediately raising the price of wheat, which in 1822 was 38s. 11d. per quarter, in 1823 to 52s. 8d., and in 1824 to 64s. 3d. All these effects were produced by an extension of issue.

Much more remarkable are the facts of the Bank and the bankers' notes in circulation, the paper under discount at the Bank. In 1815, when paper had not arrived at its climax of

issue, when Bank notes were £27,261,650, country ditto, £19,011,000—total, £46,272,650; paper under discount, £20,660,694; price of wheat, 55s. 7d. The following year paper had arrived at its climax—that is, the paper under discount was reduced from 20 millions to £11,182,109, and the price of wheat 103s. 7d. per quarter.

This fully proves that according to the extension of issue, less paper is under discount, and the higher the price of wheat, it becomes the then staple article of produce.

It must be so; this diminution of paper under discount continued till 1821. Of course the immediate effect of an Act of Parliament is not always felt or exhibited in figures the same year, nor sometimes in the following year, but the minimum quantity of bills under discount in 1821 was £2,722,587.

Compare this with that under discount in the year 1815, when it was £20,660,694. We shall soon discover the cause of so much paper under discount at the present day, when, jointly, the bills of 1819, 1825, and 1844, combine to lessen the currency during the times of an extended commerce, doubling and quadrupling itself in amount. Paper would not now be under discount to such an extent were the circulation commensurate with the increased commerce. Without much further investigation, discounts can be proved to be caused by an insufficiency of circulating medium. But this need not be proved to the bankers, they are too well aware of the fact, as are the bullionists. This deficiency of medium in currency causes each man doing business to any extent, to discount with his banker, that is as safe as the Bank of England, but is too much occupied to investigate the principle which regulates currency, and, in good faith, takes for granted these great men of money-power are doing what is right and best for the nation.

It would appear that authorities upon the present system of currency were somewhat at a discount when such journals as the *Times* and *Daily News* sought corroboration from the exemplary elect perpetrator of slavery, in order to justify their



crochet of 1844. President Buchanan, the advocate of slavery, furnished these journals (at his eleventh hour of national calamity) with a grand scope of congratulation, as if it were a new enunciation, that banks ought to be held responsible for their issue. These journals exulted over the triumph they had achieved in finding the cowhide gentlemen proscribing the banks of the United States, unless they retain a third of bullion to their issue. Do we require to go so far to find advocates of sound principles, or must we seek them only among the pro-slavery presidents of America? After all, had the banks of America reserved only one dollar in seven to their issue, upon bullion and deposits, it would seem not to have much exceeded some of our English and Scotch banks.

The whole of this loose system is to be repudiated both here and in America. The advocates of an alteration in the circulation are not to be associated by these journals with the abuses of either America or England. Certainly they can form no connexion with either, but they can deplore the ignominy of both. All these disgraceful disasters have taken place unconnected with our advocacy. The panics and calamities have all taken place with the present laws, which I, for one, repudiate and denounce as impracticable and unjust.

It does not seem to answer the purpose of certain journals to distinguish between the advocacy of an extension of currency and that of inconvertible issue. It would be an insult to these journals to assign inexperience or a want of knowledge of sound principle of action, for not acknowledging that an insufficiency of currency has at all times, and ever will, produce low prices, and high rates of discount with the absence of the usury laws.

It is an old editorial trick, practised now so often, that the motive and object become prominently evident, when leaders of certain interests associate something low with any principle in which they do not find their present interests upheld. It is a trick that comes from the bar.

It is quite evident that those who attribute the evils of this crisis to what Mr. Buchanan called "a vicious system of

paper currency," like him must have some sinister motive, for it is not true; neither England nor America has increased in paper currency; the weekly returns of the proceedings of the Bank of England prove the contrary with regard to us, as do the accounts received prove the contrary in America. In 1852 the circulation of America was, in June, 27,940,000 dollars; in September, 1857, it had diminished to 27,122,000. But between those periods, we find the capital of the New York banks had increased from 59,705,000 dollars, in June, 1852, to 107,507,000 dollars, in September, 1857, having very nearly doubled itself within five years. Specie also increased from 13,304,000, in 1852, to 14,321,000 in 1857. Deposits increased from 65,634,000 in 1852, to 81,527,000 in 1857, whilst their loans and discounts will be seen to have increased only in proportion to the increase of their capital and specie, leaving their deposits untouched. A sounder condition a country need not wish to be in; a panic need no more take place there than here. England at the present time will be found to present a more satisfactory state of things; and nothing could justify the panic of 1857, which arose, not from want of wealth, nor on account of an excess of issue, but because of the redundance of accumulation of wealth on our part, it having accumulated in too few hands, by which monopoly can be exercised to their own advancement at the expense of mercantile interests; also because of the bill of 1844, contracting the issue simultaneously with the contraction of bullion, the working of which I shall illustrate more fully shortly.

Bankers and money-lenders are the only interests some journals now openly advocate, as if they felt quite secure in the continuance of the plodding merchant, whose every-day toil leaves him little time for reflection. But when these journals find their circulation growing beautifully less, that they are forbidden to be brought into their counting-houses, let them learn that the British merchant is aroused.

One article in the *Economist* was characterized by a much sounder tone, more in keeping with the principles of the respected Mr. Tooke. In an article, under the heading, "The

American President on the American Crisis," it does not fall into that wrong but popular error, that the evil of the panic was that which Mr. Buchanan declared to be the "extravagant and vicious systems of paper currency," while the *Economist* shows that the real delinquents are in the background, screened from public gaze. But it admits that when the Act of 1844 was suspended in 1847, Sir Robert Peel acknowledged "that for the object of checking commercial speculations the Act of 1844 had failed." Unfortunately for the country, the cure was not then provided. It would then, as now, be found in the re-adoption of the Usury Laws, limiting the interest to 5 per cent., or in a check to excessive rates of discount, by the issue of Exchequer Notes up to the exact amount of bullion going out of the Bank, which would have a similar effect on the rate as that of the Usury Law would—*i.e.*, the effect of keeping rates low and more uniform, simply arising out of this fact, that the country would not suffer from a loss of circulation as bullion went out of the Bank. No greater demand would arise, because no depression would be felt; since none would exist, no rise of rates could take place. This would prevent gold going out into other countries, so much to our inconvenience at home; because then, as gold went out, Exchequer Notes would go into circulation, and would keep down rates of discount. High rates of interest will always give rise to excessive speculation, as much as it assumes the appearance of stopping it. The Bank's putting up the rate of interest is only enabling her to discount doubtful paper. High rates tempt the banker to do doubtful bills, which at 3 per cent. he would not think of. It answers the purpose to lend gold to Sweden, &c., and to raise discounts at home; but such double policy is England's double loss.

America and France seem to have discovered that it is better to tempt the Old Lady by high rates, and to get the gold from her, than allow England to use it at home; after they have obtained which, they can be the first to relax the pressure, as they have done, and reduce the rates in their own countries, while misery and ruin, dreadful to contemplate, is protracted

here in England. For the eleven months of 1857 the excess of imports over exports of gold in France was £16,625,424; that of 1856, £13,470,000; and in 1855, £8,041,644.

In the same article in the *Economist* it will be seen that the abuses that exist have no connection with any excessive issue of notes, corroborating all my preceding remarks. "The error of confounding capital with currency throughout all these various efforts of legislation, is now well understood. Imprudent and extravagant credits which end in ruin to all connected with them, are at length seen to have no connection with, and to be entirely unaided at any particular time by excessive issues of notes;—it is seen that in places where the banks of issue exist, the chief abuses have existed; and that with regard to banks of deposit only, as that in Hamburg, where a purely metallic currency only is in use, the crisis has been more severely felt than in any other place; and now, at last, we are likely to have a more searching scrutiny." Much as I find the above remarks in accordance with my own views, I am sorry that I cannot say "the Bank has been perfect;" nor that we may expect more practical conclusions from our closed doors, instead of an open house. We know an Act was passed in 1844 renewing for ten years the Charter of the Bank of England; but as the particulars of the Act might not be quite familiar to all, I will here adduce them, in order that we may be agreed upon the principles:—

The privilege of issuing paper money within a circle of sixty miles' radius round London, was continued exclusively to the Bank of England, but with the following restrictions:—The establishment was divided into two departments wholly distinct from each other, placed under separate officers, and keeping separate accounts: one for the ordinary purposes of banking, the other for the purposes of regulating the issue of notes, the amount of which was never to exceed £14,000,000, in addition to the actual amount of gold and silver bullion, lodged by the banking department in the department of issue. This £14,000,000 is made up of £11,000,000, the amount of capital which has been lent permanently to Government at 2



per cent. interest, and £3,000,000 of public securities, bearing interest, which the bank of issue is empowered to hold for that purpose. Porter himself could not refrain from remarking :—“It remains, however, to be proved whether, under all circumstances that may arise, the security of the public is thus equally well attained. As respects the management of the currency, there are not wanting men of great practical experience in such questions, who have expressed doubts upon this subject.”

It must be evident that any attempt to regulate the currency by controlling the issues of the Bank of England, must fail of its object unless an equal control were exercised over the issue of private and joint-stock banks. It was accordingly provided by the Act of 1844, “That no person, other than a banker, who on the 6th of May, 1844, was lawfully issuing his own notes, shall make or issue bank-notes in any part of the United Kingdom.” The privilege of those issues was continued to those persons; but the amount that may be issued in each case was restricted to the amount which constituted their actual issues upon the average of the two preceding years.”

The notes not exceeding £14,000,000 might be practical, but the issue on the bullion is the questionable part of this Act. Its advantage to the Bank of England is undoubted, because it gives the Bank a double power over the rest of the nation; their power of expansion is thus made doubly rapid, but their power of contraction is equally so, which is the very reverse of that which should be beneficial to the nation. Of all things, to make a law of such importance to be under the control of one body corporate, is an evil of such magnitude, that not a week ought to be allowed to pass without its alteration. At the very time when gold is wanted, notes are wanted still more; yet, by this Act, at the very time gold flows out of the coffers of the Bank, notes are withdrawn from circulation to just that very amount—at the very time they are most needed they are taken away, as if, by a concatenation of perverted ingenuity, the worst system seems to be made the law of the land that could do that land the most injury.

It might be thought, superficially regarded, that the Bank

would suffer the most, since her issue to work with is doubly lessened and her means of discount equally shortened, but that is no injury to the Bank, since she can double her interest as rapidly as gold diminishes from her coffers, and even in considerable anticipation of it, can she benefit, before the gold is parted with, by raising her rates as a precautionary measure. Not so with the country merchants, manufacturers, and agricultural producers; they have, during this lessening of the means of conducting business, been paying for their castigation; they are, however, made to pay the flagellator double, the farmer getting but half the price of his produce, the labourer thrown out of work, and all for what? Not because there is less wealth and worth in the nation, unless, by-the-bye, the Bank of England send it out in bars of gold without a *quid pro quo* (a thing they are not quite in the habit of doing), not because the merchant is over-trading, but, the truth must come out, because the bankers find it more profitable to be receiving high rates than low rates of interest. Men of paper and nothing else are encouraged, because they can get off a large parcel of discounts, or can pawn their consignees' dock warrants to within 15 per cent. of actual value. The high rates of interest tempt the bankers to extend accommodation beyond prudence, as it tempts them also to use deposits beyond the limits of prudence and caution. But for whom is all this kindness on their part? Not for the honest sons of toil, but for the fast stag, the go-a-head man, caring but little what he pays, the large supplies of accommodation suit him and the banker together.

The Government overlooked, or winked at the fact, that by allowing gold to regulate the additional issue, they leave a power in the bankers' and Bank of England's hands to cause a pretext for raising discounts whenever they like. The Bank has only to treat for large loans to Russia, Austria, East India Company, or Sweden and Norway; the gold they themselves thus send from their coffers by millions, whenever interest is likely to become below their favourite price, is—the very means at the same time for raising rates—the high-pressure valve, and is seen to work and indicate danger. No matter; before the Bank

fail, the Government and the country must. No matter who sinks, they swim. Rates of interest must be buoyant, uniformly high. Low rates now are only exceptional. So says the Bank; or, so acts the Bank, at all events.

The crash of the banks of 1825 to 1826 was not owing to the inability of the banks then to pay, but to the monetary laws. Sir H. W. Ridley declared, on 3rd June, 1828, in the House of Commons, "that in 1825 and 1826, there were 770 country bankers, and of these, 63 had stopped payment, out of which, 23 had resumed their payments of 20s., and 31 were making arrangements for the payment of their debts. The country bankers, at all events, paid on an average 17s. 6d. in the pound. It is evident that they were perfectly solvent when the crash commenced. It was brought about by the drain of specie, and it might have been entirely avoided by permitting the issuing of another species of property to sustain the currency when the one upon which all depended was withdrawn." Exchequer notes would do this.

One question I ask in all sincerity—Are the men that are so in the habit of gambling on the Stock Exchange day by day, jobbing and tricking in monetary practices, till trick-my-neighbour has become the familiar object of their embrace, are they being educated in a fitting way on points of virtue, sufficiently to become bankers for the world? Are they men to be held paramount to all else—superior to the producers of the earth, that yield yearly £300,000,000, nearly twice as much as all trading and manufacturing classes put together, which in 1845 only reached £180,000,000? Are laws ever to be made especially to favour these sordid, self-seeking, huckstering, money traffickers at the expense of the whole nation besides—the world not excluded? Since the Bank of England has forgotten the excessive advantages they enjoy over all else to the extent of £14,000,000 of issue; since they have converted nationality into personality, selfishly appropriated, let a check be placed over them. Are first principles entirely to be ignored in legislation, and secular principles to be raised up as a standard of action? For what, then, have we a Government, if it but

encourage the secular and the vicious? As well might man question his Creator as question First Principles. Let Sir Robert Peel's Bill of 1844, and his expediency also be hurled together into oblivion before third-rate motives of action become the ruling power of the day.

Now the remedy in the Bank Act of 1844 is to be founded in this :—since a check to the Bank is found to be more and more necessary every day, let another issue replace the issue withdrawn when gold goes out of the Bank ; as gold is withdrawn, make Exchequer notes constitute the issue up to the amount of bullion withdrawn from the Bank. These Exchequer notes always payable in taxes and duties, the interest of the issue of which, take care, is reserved for the Crown. The Bank cannot complain of such a mode of stopping the fluctuations and monetary convulsions that are now so dreadful to bear. This will prevent the sudden reduction of issue and gold at the same time, and keep in circulation a steady and even supply of currency ; will endanger no inconvertibility, since no more inconvertibility will exist then than now, all Exchequer notes being convertible into taxes and duties to the amount of the debt of £11,000,000. The bank would have no inducement to advance larger loans to Sweden and Denmark, nor to Norway, because by parting with money they would not have the same power of raising discounts on what is left behind at home as now. The pressure would never be so great on the bank for gold when another convertibility was adopted, such as taxation, because fear and mistrust of the ultimate results of stoppage in the Bank of England is now out of the question, whether she can pay in gold 10½ in the pound at one time, or 10 at another. She is always solvent, and no loss can ensue to the country ultimately. With a capital of such magnitude she is always safe, but that is no guarantee that she intends to keep to an uniform low rate of discount under 5 per cent. ; *au contraire parbleu*. I have taken great care not to be chimerical, and have tested my views by introducing the best authorities on the currency.

I quote Alison upon the encouragement given to specula-



tion:—"To make paper *plentiful when gold is plentiful*, and paper scarce when gold is scarce, is not only a dangerous system at all times, and under all circumstances, but is precisely the reverse of what should be established. It alternately aggravates the dangers arising from over speculation, and induces the distress consequent on over contraction. The true system would be the very reverse, and it would prevent the whole evils which the preceding pages have unfolded."

Exchequer notes should be based on the principle of making paper a supplement to the metallic currency, and a substitute for it when required, not a representative of it. Alison further says:—"Thus, over speculation at one time, and monetary distress at another, would be alike avoided, and an equal circulation would maintain the health of the social system, as it unquestionably does of animal life."

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## CHAPTER CXXVI.

### EXCESSIVE PAPER UNDER DISCOUNT IS SUPERINDUCED BY AN INSUFFICIENT CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

IN 1811 the scarcity of specie gave rise to a necessity of substituting some kind of relief in the way of a means of circulation, which then was not paper, but to meet that emergency the Bank issued tokens in silver for 5s. 6d., 3s., and 1s. 6d. This was then an indication of some desire on the part of the Bank, to relieve the distress prevailing, although in 1813 they abolished these tokens.

In 1816 the sovereign of 20s. was issued, and a standard of gold was adopted instead of one of silver. Sir R. Peel's Act, in 1819, returning to cash payment, gave rise to the necessity for the Bank of England accumulating gold to meet the demands which the Act of convertibility rendered imperative; the circulating medium was then diminished, and a drain of bullion

ensued. A larger issue of notes then became necessary in order to check the drain. The Bank held at one time one-third of the metallic currency ; the coinage amounting to £74,501,586 during the Regency.

The money raised during the wars, lasting 22 years, from 1793 to 1815, by loans, Exchequer bills, and taxes, amounted to £1,623,943,587, the quarter part of which was expended on the Army, Navy, Ordinance, &c.

On the resumption of cash payment in 1819, the Bank held only £4,185,000, while her note circulation was £25,127,000 ; from this gold absorption it became necessary that something should be done to keep up a sufficient medium of circulation : *instead of bills then increasing under discount, the country bankers were permitted an extension of small notes*, which relieved the country, and commerce again rallied and assumed a feature of prosperity. Had not this country-extension of notes taken place, some substitute must have been resorted to, in the way of tokens or bills, proving in that early day that a contraction of the currency arising from convertibility, must, like water, find a level somewhere ; and had it found its level then in country notes, it must have enforced a withholding of payment, an extension of credit, or a substitution of bills.

In 1823, wild speculations were encouraged ; rumours were spread that supplies of South American gold would reach us ; so that in 1825 these speculations reduced the bullion in the Bank. Answering the purpose of the Bank then, just as it did in 1857, she curtailed her accommodation after entering upon foreign loans, twenty-six in number, amounting to £55,794,671, of which only ten now pay interest.

After superinducing the 624 new schemes which were projected during 1824 and 1825, for these foreign loans, we know specie was generally remitted, which then as now raised the value of money at home,—which again, was just what the foreign loans were intended to bring about.

The new schemes were then afloat, and must have money at any price, they had fallen into the bankers' trap, of course they were caught, and then, as now, most unmercifully plucked.

The Bank possessing the power of contracting the currency at home, by its very power of sending its specie abroad in foreign loans, is enabled to inflict a twofold injury upon the country, especially upon the legitimate men of commerce.

*In vain may England toil and pursue the straightforward course of action, while this nefarious system of foreign loaning is allowed;* and home speculations, taking their starting-point from the Stock Exchange stags, the fruits of honest industry will ever be swallowed up, and wars, and repetitions of wars will ever be surreptitiously induced, and the greater the rogue that sits on the throne of France, the oftener will occasions apparently arise for the redress of foreign grievances, which had no other source than in the Bourse and our jobbing Exchange.

The Bank always benefits, earlier or later, by whatever great changes takes place, even when danger appears to the facile John Bull; she has always her *dernier ressort*, either in or by a bank restriction act; or, as on this occasion of 1825, A PECULIAR FINDING OF ONE POUND NOTES, wherein her panacea was at hand; as it always is, yes, by a letter from my Lord John Russell, as in 1847: or from my Lord Palmerston, in 1857. My only astonishment is, they did not call it a "*bank restriction*" letter. Of course *we should not* have known that the *Bank was not* really very much injured by *such rigour*, in *compelling it not to do what it cannot do*;—*what a paradox!*

The one pound notes worked a speedy restoration of the country, proving a little more than the Bank calculated upon—that the country required such a useful issue; that the little merchants and artisans were greatly relieved by it; but because they were not quite so crippled as to be obliged to go to the banker for discounts and loans often enough, they had the *one pound note withdrawn* in 1829; the same reason accounts for their never having been re-introduced; for, by a restricted currency, loans are in greater request, and discounts in greater demand; rates of interest range higher, the whole of which benefits the monetary interests, at the expense of the entire commercial world.

Of course it will be said the Bank was in a sad plight in 1825; its specie was reduced to only £426,000 in coin, and £601,000 in bullion, was it not greatly jeopardized? I answer not at all: the people were, but not the Bank; they had done a good thing for themselves then, as they did in 1857, just as a man having sold all his goods does a good thing, and having, comparatively, an empty warehouse, by having had a ready sale that cleared him out much to his advantage, leaving him ready to receive fresh stores; he knowing well the period of their arrival.

The Bank knows well when their bullion will return to the Bank; every loan and bill bears a date for repayment of principal and interest.

Lord Liverpool, in 1826, remarked that "The effect of the then present law was to permit every description of banking; except THAT WHICH IS SOLID AND SECURE;" did not the years 1847 and 1857 prove his words to be true?

What distress did the withdrawals of the one pound and two pound country notes produce upon the labouring people of England in 1829, giving rise to such discontent that showed itself—doubtless wrongly, but unmistakably—in the incendiary fires in the agricultural districts.

What class of men are gathered together as commissioners, when a bank charter is to be granted or renewed? Are there as many merchants as bankers? and why not? Who is Lord Derby, that he should presume to tell Great Britain that care should be taken to exclude Mercator and pamphleteering effusions from the consideration of the Bank Charter. I have little doubt but a few sessions of Parliament will disclose to the mercantile world what he is. However, I think he cannot be worse than Palmerston.

In 1833, the Bank having held a little more bullion, £10,205,000, began again to export gold. The joint-stock banks over issuing, also gave rise to great monetary disturbance.

I consider Mr. Attwood was correct when he said, "he was more convinced than ever, that the Government should be the sole issuer of notes." Notwithstanding the Exchequer Bill forgeries of 1841, I do not see why Exchequer notes or bills



could not be as well guarded against forgeries as bank notes, but certainly not while they were in the issue of the Bank of England.

Let that be a department for Mercator to superintend well ; then counterfeits could be as well avoided in them as in Bank notes.

Up to 1837 money was plentiful, and speculations were again encouraged by the monetary faction, among railroads and foreign loans. The Bank well knowing this their harvest was arriving, the panic ensued ; the drain of bullion became severe, and it sank to £4,077,000. Aggravated, as if purposely, by the hostilities of the Bank to the joint-stock banks, whose paper it refused to discount, a stroke of strategy our mediæval Mercator would not have dreamt of, in his purer philosophy. The bullion in the Bank in 1839, was reduced to £2,522,000 ; then the country was ripe for the Bank to reap its well-planted and matured harvest. Then would they, without blushing, stay the efflux of gold when they no longer had any, by raising the rate of discount to 5 per cent. The Bank liabilities were £28,860,000 ; then an exposure of a foreign policy in connexion with the Bank took place, which English merchants should not overlook, because it illustrates something like international collusion between France and England, showing how our nation will play into the hands of another, when by so doing they can uphold an artificial state of things. The Bank of England obtained assistance from the Bank of France by bills of exchange, or accommodation bills, which checked the drain of bullion. All this might have been necessary ; but it exposes to us, how one monarch works the telegraph with a bank ; in another country, how pretexts for war may be got up, and funds raised and lowered ; and when a reigning monarch (such as Louis Napoleon now) is a large speculator on the Bourse, with what ease can an excuse be made to expend a hundred millions for no other purpose than the upholding of the debt national by increasing it ; and by increasing discounts raise the rate of interest. The rate of discount was thus by the panic raised to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in 1839.

These fluctuations, which are so ruinous to commerce, are

just the very opposite to monetary jobbers and bankers. That which is the commercial loss is exactly, in the same ratio, the bankers' gain ; we may rest well assured, therefore, as long as the present laws of currency remain, nothing can prosper commercially for any duration.

The monetary derangement had become of such frequent occurrence, that public attention was attracted, and an inquiry was instituted upon the cause of it in 1840 ; but, as usual, the paper issue was blamed instead of banking speculations, in the way of foreign loans, which had again drained the bullion, forcing a quantity of paper under discount, the evident consequence of an insufficient circulating medium. This ended in the restrictive Act of 1844, which in every way answered the purpose of the Bank ; for, by this it was enabled to reduce and regulate the demand first, and then the supply of gold. Thus every Act is made to relieve the Bank, but not so the country. In 1843 bullion returned, and in December the Bank held £14,982,000. But just the same thing was experienced then as was so grievously felt in 1858 ; money had become abundant, but little trade was done, because of the disasters of previous monetary jobs ; confidence was destroyed, and commerce flagged to a ruinous extent.

The new theory was, that the circulation of notes should always be equal to the coin held by the Bank, and their issues increase and decrease to the same amount as a metallic currency ; but the trick which the Bank had obtained for themselves, was the permission to issue £14,000,000 in notes against the public debt and securities ; which, while it negated the first part of the bill, threw £14,000,000 of issue into the Bank's hands, not represented by bullion, with which they alone, and not commerce, were benefited.

Thus the Bank Charter of 1844 was a farce ; but a very serious one for the honest man, that kept aloof from speculation, as well as the tools of the Bank that had been induced to enter upon speculation, but which were sacrificed when ever it answered the purpose of the Bank.

This left the Bank all-powerful in the exercise of disturbing

causes whenever it answered their purpose ; and certainly they have not failed to use their prerogative in a way most distressing to the country, by giving rise to frequent derangement of the currency, such as we have experienced since 1844. This Act was tampered with by the Bank, and instead of its causing an uniform rate of interest, before it had been in operation three years discounts increased, until, in 1847, they were at 9 per cent. ; caused by the export of bullion, the facile process so unblushingly exercised by the Bank, whenever they think proper, no law existing at present to prevent their doing so ; although that very gold has gone to the very countries with whom we were at war, and without which they could no longer have waged war against us,—whilst at home the same Bank will refuse to make advances upon our own Exchequer bills, as they did in 1847, when they were at 35s. discount. Then, and not till then (take particular notice), did Lord John Russell suspend the Bank Act ; the effect was immediate—confidence was restored.

Not on account of the bad harvest, from which the country had suffered greatly, nor on account of the excessive expenditure on railways, and the commercial distress generally, but because Exchequer bills were at a heavy discount, was the letter issued, proving how little the people are regarded in monetary arrangements.

Every thing bore a satisfactory aspect in 1854, but the reduction of the National Debt to £771,335,801, (see Fortin, £758,005,603 3s. 5½d., on 5th January, 1854), gave alarm to the Bank and money-jobbers. Gladstone was in earnest in reducing the debt ; the country was likely to be somewhat relieved, for the public revenue was £54,430,344, and the expenditure was only £51,174,840, too favourable a state of things to be allowed by the money grinders ; their perpetual harvest in daily jobbery of the National Debt, was likely to leave them with a few millions less to trick my neighbour with, so a war was got up to depress the funds, by which the banking millionaire is enabled to buy in at low rates, and wait till the funds rise again, then sell out at high rates. By the

same means these mercenaries are also enabled to effect foreign loans with our enemies, and to add £200,000,000 of expenditure upon the country, which is safe to lessen the currency at home; thus the most merciful Bank is enabled to raise their discounts to 10 per cent., so that extortionate "*profits*" (to use a very mild term) are sure to follow. So the cry of war with Russia is raised, the battle is fought,—not for England's people, but for the banking interest of France and Great Britain withal, that are so badly off they need a nation's sacrifice!

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## CHAPTER CXXVII.

MR. WILLIAM ATKINSON ON THE SYSTEM OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ECONOMY.\*

Too much of the style of perverting truth, and turning the tables, has already been attempted by the old unprogressive school, that would not touch a single branch of the tree which nursed the parent of one-sided wealth, lest it should, by healthy pruning, become vigorous and productive enough to shelter both the possessors of wealth and the strugglers to obtain it. Nothing should oppose the shelter and aid which industry requires, while the great holders of wealth are by its very possession independent of the aid which Mr. William Atkinson renders them.

How kind of this writer to bestow so much pains in writing ambiguously! The great have no need of him; or, is he a copyist of Voltaire's policy? though it so happens the poor stand in greater need of it than the rich.

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\* "*Principles of Social and Political Economy.*"



Having often said I would reserve to man all his own, and protect his wealthy possessions, whether large or small—I have said enough for those that require not my aid ; but I recommend all to extend to others the privileges they enjoy, by a sound system of in exclusiveness.

The animal—the dog at the bone—snarls at another dog that approaches him ; perchance the dog has not another bone. A much better excuse can be extended to the animal than to the man, that snarls at every expression of the needy to possess some improved condition in this prolific world ; not that he wishes to take any from theirs, as Mr. W. Atkinson fallaciously labours to show is the intention, but to partake of a portion of the coming abundant sources of wealth, without having to contend against monopoly, speculation, fraudulent trading, forcing and draining markets, and corrupt combinations of interests—first to cease among employers, then to cease among the *employés*. Not forgetting the encouragement that can be given to honest, inventive, and practical industry, by an uniformly low or moderate rate of interest (of which there are only exceptional cases of grievance now), that would enable the steady plodding man to improve in condition, without encouraging the speculator only, who would give any rate of interest to secure a vague chance of success.

I was greatly in hopes this writer was going to take a more sound view of social and political economy, when he quoted Mr. Smith's "*Wealth of Nations*"\* in the following way :—  
 "The legal rate, it is to be observed, though it ought to be somewhat above, ought not to be much above the lowest market rate. If the legal rate of interest in Great Britain, for example, was fixed so high as 8 or 10 per cent., the greater part would be lent to prodigals and projectors, who alone would be willing to give the high interest. Sober people, who will give for the use of money no more than a part of what they are likely to make by the use of it, would not venture into the competition. A great part of the capital of the country would thus be kept

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\* Vol. I. chap. ix. p. 157.

out of the hands which were most likely to make a profitable and advantageous use of it, and thrown into those that were most likely to waste and destroy."

But I find this remark was not good enough for this writer, whom he says "Dugald Stewart has justly opposed." Finding fault both with Adam Smith and Mr. Bentham, he dismisses the subject without disproving the views of either. I must take a like liberty with this writer that he has done with the above gentlemen of known authority, as far as they go. In page 170, Book II., Chapter I.,\* he asserts that "free institutions, placed within the domain of law, can no longer be free;" and compares this state of things with masters and schoolboys that the master can no longer restrain, saying, "Since I can no longer control you or sway you," thus the rule or law is abandoned.

Now, all through this work, these extreme, over-wrought, and inapt illustrations are given, which have no reference to the subject under consideration, either by analogy, deduction, induction, nor the truth of the case. The people of England have no wish to be without control, nor without a head—not even the Communists; they would wish to have a voice in their representatives only, whom they send to take a portion of control.

This writer entirely begs the questions, and assumes false premises, and then fallaciously argues upon his own self-erected superstructure of absurd proportions of unscientific designs. He says, "the institution has become free; that is, no institution at all. It is disorganization, confusion, and total disruption." What is? I ask. Why, only his ideal, fanciful castle of "uncontrol," that no one but himself talks of, nor desires. Good institutions are not confusion, bad ones are; and however dogmatically enforced because of their antiquity, will ever tend to disorganization, and endanger a State by the probability of disruption.

I discover no vacillation in Mr. Huskisson's advocacy of "free trade," because he saw the necessity of retaining "rule

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\* "The Wealth of Nations," by Adam Smith, book ii. c. 4.

or law" in State, and in every course of action; but I am sorry to discover that very vacillation in this author which he so freely applies to Mr. Huskisson.

Although I admit free trade should have been carried further, or not have had a mere commencement, I know it has no tendency to interfere with law or rule; on the contrary, it must tend to establish a firmer basis of rule in proportion to the justness of its principle. If Mr. Willson has broken faith in his economistic paper, other political economists are not to be blamed for him.

Mr. W. Atkinson seems to overlook the great fact, that freedom is the subjection of evil, by which the good is enabled to be active, unfettered by the bonds of false influences and practices. He is actually denying the existence of monopoly as acting injuriously upon an industrious people, and declares it to be a "favourite term, in order to conceal whatever was faulty in it."\* And in order to prove his fallacy, he confounds monopoly with competition; and argues clearly against himself, asserting that the "public" has been becoming a nonentity in the process of monopoly against competition, while he strives to show that monopoly is doing its harmless work. For the argument, I refer the reader to the page, as it is not worth quoting.†

I shall pass over much, leaving the author to revel in his own self-sufficient hallucinations. I doubt not but he has pleased himself: that is more than deep thinkers can often do.

His next attempt to justify the necessity of perpetuating inequality, poverty, and destitution, is a marvellous effort to ape the *Times*. He says: "It is a rash and fearful act to recommend, and to put into practice, a remedy for the evils of extreme poverty."‡ Because, he says, "If more than a certain, and that a proportionally small, number of men were released from the duty of working—of cultivating the land, of sowing the seed, of reaping the crop, &c., the necessary com-

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\* "Principles of Social and Political Economy," book II. c. i. p. 182.

† *Idem*, 183.

‡ *Idem*, book IV. c. i. p. 511.

modities would not be forthcoming, production must cease in a great degree, and, as a necessary sequence, consumption and enjoyment must cease likewise.\*

These premises are first of all wrong, for man does not cease from labour while he is acquiring wealth; on the contrary, he is stimulated to more labour, as he acquires more wealth; the great evil is, that there is no end to his labour: he works the harder, accumulates more than enough, and more than he can enjoy, from this excessive acquirement. Instead of bringing philosophy to bear upon his sufficiency, and taking leisure in his old age, he toils on; and, from an industrious labourer, becomes himself a monopolist, by which he tries to shut out his neighbour from competing with him in commerce or profession.

The timid fears of Mr. W. Atkinson, that no one will be left to grow his cabbage, if he improve the condition of the labourer, is pusillanimous to an excess—is unjust as it is cowardly; and is the toadying twaddle of that *Times*-ridden class of statesmen that have grown so fat and luxurious in their easy seats of State, that any possible or impossible tendency to endanger their ease, or lessen the dimensions of their bloated bodies, is to be treated as an act of insubordination, and punished accordingly. So that, in order to perpetuate this superabundance among the greedy few, the condition of the industrious many is not to be improved.

What stuff are we obliged to listen to, from these overfed and overpaid men, just because their permanence might endure imaginary hazard, having no reality even in the possible!

Look all through employment, and see if the man with better wage does not continue to work; and does he not first obtain his better wage from his better work, and increased quantity of it? This is very opposite to the argument Mr. W. Atkinson attempts to force upon us.

True, some in early life will spend all they earn, and absent themselves from labour occasionally, through good pay, not working all the week: these form but the exceptions to the

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\* "Principles of Social and Political Economy," p. 512.



rule. Every banker and every merchant well knows that his clerk, to whom he pays £500 or £1000 a year, is the most, not the least, industrious in his employ. The less salary is given to the less industrious; the increase of pay does not lessen his exertions, but, on the contrary, because he can be depended upon for doing his work well, and for accurately carrying it out, he obtains more—the very converse of these weak-minded arguments, that have their origin in State indolence; for there things are absolutely in adverse ratio. The industrious often obtains no promotion, while the idle son of interest steps over his shoulder, and takes the pay that should have been awarded to merit.

In this way a writer on political economy may be deceived, if he happen to have studied and obtained his political experience from official red tapes, instead of in the great field of commerce, where the many, not the few, form a proper indication of characters and habits.

Competence, comfort, and enjoyment, then, may with every safety be extended to the many; instead of indolence, efficiency will be the result; and the world and man will be in right relation to the munificent Provider. Instead of this, fearfully selfish statesmen, from the greediness in their hearts, would withhold happiness from all, in order that they may enjoy the monopoly—the luxury—that shall be confined to the few, and in order to enhance their intensity of delight, they knowing well, the fewer there are the greater the distinction. Shut out the many that the few only may have the all of creation: such a form Mr. W. Atkinson's political and social economy assumes at the commencement of his work. He has yet to study the philosophy of government from another source, with less compromising expedients. At the end of his first volume, he appears to have discovered this fact.

Attractive industry must form an element in any improved government, which will better be promoted by individual exertions among parents, than by material interferences, beyond that of relieving the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the working part of any community, and exposing to shame selfish laws.

In one part of his work this author calls an "equality of circumstances a mere visionary idea, a baseless speculation, having no foundation either in the necessity or the possibility of things."\* In another part he says:—"Nevertheless, it would evince the greatest ignorance, were he to entertain the opinion that the principle involved in Socialism or Communism is not the *substantial, the true, the ever-enduring*, and hence the required principle."† In one part, then, he says it is *visionary and baseless, having no foundation*; in another, the directly opposite, "the *substantial, the true, the ever-enduring*." Yea, he goes on further to say, that "social law, or Socialism, must be, and is, the impress of the Creator. It involves that which should constitute the thoughts, the aspirations, and the duties of men, in all countries, and throughout time." This versatile author can say two opposite things almost in one breath; he has the strangest knack of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds that I ever witnessed.

He analyzed the term Communism, and finds it to mean, "interest in common, and love of country; love of each other." Now, how can men love in unity, that wish themselves alone to enjoy the privileges of governmental control? If there exist love of country, it must imply the love of the interests of all—that is, of all classes; otherwise, it becomes selfish love, instead of "love of country." But when the same writer admits the "interest in common," as just before he has done, the interests of all are admitted by him; how, then, by any extenuation of terms, can he intend to convey any other meaning than that the equality of interests should become the identical uniform effort of all? Unless that be the case, he must admit that he would have the poor remain poor, and yet join their consent to remain so, while the rich exclude them from every privilege that they themselves enjoy, which would be a contradiction to the meaning of "unity of interests."

It must be admitted that for the poor to remain poor, and the rich to remain rich, is not unity nor community of interests

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\* "Principles of Social and Political Economy," book iv. p. 314.

*Idem*, book iv. p. 529.

—just the very reverse: it is disunity of interests, disjunctive classification; opposite principles and practices that are exclusive, not inclusive—not unity. All the advantage is, according to him, to be on one side, all the loss on the other; and this he labours hard to prove is beneficial to a nation. Where is the “social principle” here, since he says all who wish not to perpetuate this state of things are possessed of “selfish, unsocial feelings and principles”?\* I certainly know of no modern political writer that takes such liberties with terms, calling by wrong names the pure and the impure, and *vice versâ*; I know none that thus perverts truth so unblushingly, except it be the *Times*.

I find an attempt at excusing himself, when he alludes to the due and right application of labour, the just dealing and trading—the fulfilment of those duties that are connected by the law in nature; that just and honourable self-denial which is ready to forego profitable employment and invest money when it has to be apprehended that injury to the interests of others may accrue by them, &c.

But when he concludes the paragraph by saying it is not possible to govern a nation against the will of the nation, I answer, his impossible is the actual of Great Britain. The will of the nation is not known, and is not intended to be known, nor consulted, so long as 900,000 men only have the privilege of expressing their will through their representatives, out of a population of 30,000,000 people.

That which we have to regard, as a nation, above all other things, certainly is the “quality of the *national* will.” This quality cannot be arrived at, nor can it be improved, so long as all that form the component parts of the nation—the honest, hard-working, incessant contributories to the commonwealth—have no will, nor voice, by which they can direct the appropriations of their wealth in common, that they so largely contribute towards the expenses of their nation. I know well, from much intercourse with the real workers of the country, that they would improve the quality of the will of the nation,

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\* “Principles of Social and Political Economy,” book iv. p. 526.

were they allowed to form the integral of the nation's will. Fear not the industrious, that have trusted you so long ; even with all your breach of trust ! ye exclusive legislators. Who mistrusts now ?

They are the daily creators of the common wealth you possess, and of the comforts you enjoy. They respect your property more than you respect their rights ; shame, disgraceful shame, is hurled upon your pusillanimous mistrust of the good people of England. Alas ! not only England.

In page 511, Mr. W. Atkinson declares "it to be a fearful task to recommend and to put into practice a remedy for the evils of extreme poverty." Now, while I admit that the writers on political economy have not dealt practically with that great subject, I cannot see the harm they have ever done by attempting to awaken a feeling among the powerful, of a further extension of fairness to all : that they have not succeeded, is too evident, as is also the fact, that they themselves have seldom practised what they professed.

The law of redistribution of capital by which a diffusion is likely to reach the poor and needy, has never been put into practice, simply because the word redistribution is too strong a word to use ; laws which shall have that tendency is always meant. Such excessive attainments of wealth are known to be injurious both to the rich and the poor, and is only the remains of uncivilization to attempt to perpetuate it.

But this author changes his tone towards the end of his first volume ; for he asks, "Which will the people choose ? The good, fraught with more and more ease, union, and healing ; or the evil, fraught with more and more contestation, loss, and misery ?"\*

I am happy to find that his further reasoning brings him to different conclusions from that upon which he first started ; but only with this difference, he denounces the political *economist*, but not political *economy*. He says, "That free principle, then, from which our prevailing system of political economy is derived is, I maintain, that very principle involving selfish action,

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\* "Principles of Social and Political Economy," book IV. c. iv. p. 578.



covetousness, and ambition, and, hence a rejection of all social love and SOCIAL LAW that was chosen by our first parents.”\* Now he goes into the distinction of free and right, social, or lawful action; when I only and simply admit nothing to be free that is not right and consistent with practice. Wrong is ever in bondage, whether wearing the garb of commonwealth or monarchy.

There is no freedom, where one individual extends his freedom of action, by the laws he made to protect himself, on to another individual's rights with impunity; the very protection to the one is the bondage to the other, and this forms the basis of our English laws, and this is what the author of Political and Social Economy emphatically calls “committing fornication with the world, meaning unlawful enjoyment of the world; enjoyment not controlled, or influenced, by a consideration how the pursuit of this enjoyment may affect the welfare and happiness of other men, but indulged regardless of the welfare and happiness of others; or even under a knowledge that the welfare and happiness of other men will be sacrificed for this course of indulgence.”†

These fair and honest remarks contrast widely with his fearful remedies for extreme poverty; which there he fears to recommend, but here he fears to perpetuate!

If we adopt Mr. W. Atkinson's style of argument, we must put down all existing institutions, because they have all failed to accomplish the purpose for which they were intended. The various churches have signally failed in making men unselfish; whilst the professors, for the greater part, have omitted to practise their own teaching. “No one,” he admits, “can say with truth, that the good results predicated have come to pass? Have our laws accomplished their object, even in diminishing crime?” Laws, it must be admitted, are lamentably defective, and ever will be, I say, as long as they are the emanations of one-sided, partial, selfish, rich men, ever attempting to shut the poor out, either from making or executing them.

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\* “Principles of Social and Political Economy,” vol. I. book iv. c. 6, p. 613.

† Page 615.

But this author says most strangely after all, the good he before alluded to and admitted was necessary; that whether living or acting under the one system or the other, under free action, or excess of action, too much change and action in the aggregate; or, as if he was not quite certain of this, he says, "or the courses involved by the free or bad social principle have at all times, and under all states and circumstances been dominant and operative."

Now, this little qualifying word *bad*, seemed to have helped him through this corollary; for my part, I cannot see that we have had so many trials on social economy, that we really can talk of the bad in reference to it. Suppose, instead of one adjective I use another, and say, *good* social principles, and associate the word *free* with the good, our conclusions will, of course, be different; only proving that building up unseemly premises, and drawing conclusions from them, is not a just style of arguing; not even when you wish to come to the law of degree.

I consider, that instead of writing on excess of action, and too much change, we must first of all see enough.

Laws are made for the murderer, the housebreaker, the pick-pocket, &c. &c.; but these are no part of the laws that form temptations with the rich and affluent; where are the more delicate and refined laws which the affluent ought to have instituted for themselves?—such as taxing themselves first and most, the poor last and least; such as limiting acquirements of wealth, so that its greatness shall neither produce monopoly, nor privation to the many: again—laws against Stock Exchange speculations, gambling, and betting; the corrupting influence which is now fast spreading over the middle and third classes of society.

Freedom in the abstract never exists; man is ever under some constraint, even when exercising his free will. Had Mr. Atkinson studied Swedenborg, he would have discovered that the free will is influenced either by evil genii or good genii; one or the other is ruling the man, and keeping him bound to its power.

This writer says: "All affections are bonds, because they rule the man and keep him bound to themselves."\* Again, he says, "Freedom is to think and will from affection."† "There is a heavenly freedom and an infernal one."‡ "Man, during his abode in this world, is held in the midst between heaven and hell, and thus in a spiritual equilibrium wherein free will consists."§

Mr. William Atkinson's denunciation of "*free institutions*" can be easily explained by this Swedish theologian. We must use terms in order to convey our meaning, and when *free institutions* are by me alluded to, let it be understood I mean by them, an equalization of power, a fairness of proceeding—as much and as far on one side as on the other—a balance of weight and power. Beyond this, at once is a departure from the *juste milieu*, and tend to harm. It must be this departure that Mr. Atkinson alludes to when he denounces it as disorganization, confusion, and total disruption."\* Not the free institutions, but the very opposite of what he really says, it is quite evident he must mean.

I shall now endeavour to attribute a better motive to this author, believing we both advocate similar fairness of institutions. I think after this explanation, the writer must do Mr. Huskisson more justice, and withdraw the imputation that "he exhibited the most remarkable and distressing vacillation of opinion and of reasoning."

First of all, learn to know that freedom is the subjection of evil to the good ;—subjection still, but Heaven's benign subjection, which is sweet liberty compared with the subjection of infernal influences.

Neither are the political economists to be condemned because they appear to Mr. Atkinson to depart from their free action in trade, when they advocate and affirm the law against usury. Adam Smith certainly comprehended the words "free trade"

\* Arcana Coelestia, 3835.

† *Idem*, 10,252.

‡ *Idem*, 2870, 2873.

§ U. T., 475—478.

\* Book II., c. i. p. 179.

better than to put it under an infernal bondage rather than the heavenly bondage ; a law against usury might have been permitted, as an exceptional law, without any contumely attaching to the Free Trade advocates. Mr. Bentham was likewise as free to adopt the law against usury, without calling it a contravention of free commercial action, as was Adam Smith ; and both could recognize the law against usury as an exceptional law, without any contravention whatever of principle.

I am quite ready to admit that the political economists have failed to accomplish the great work they designed, but they have led the mind on to a further investigation of principles, which I hope will soon, and very soon, bring us to a true development of the science of fair elemental control, or **Government upon First Principles**.

Mr. W. Atkinson entirely fails in proving "infidelity" among most of the free actors, by first of all not understanding the term *free*, which he so frequently uses. Instead of being composed of "mere socialists," as he designates them, he must be fair enough to admit that some of the soundest men we have in both Houses are advocating the freedom of fairness to all, in contravention to the freedom such as now exists, of unfairness and exclusion of the great body of the contributors to the wealth in common. Knowing the strength of their opponents, they have only appeared to be defective, neither have they placed the science clearly before the world. Our monetary system I have proved, in so many parts of my work, to be unfair, and not based upon a just balance of principle, that undue influences must be ever exercised over the working and needy man.

I have no more to say in favour of the Political Economists ; when practically considered, they have hitherto failed to enact laws that may check and regulate equally the use and application of money.

I am happy to find Mr. W. Atkinson alive to these glaring facts. He says, very justly, "By the evidence delivered, it is proved, that by the assistance which these laws afford, a check may be imposed on those greedy, rash, dishonest, and fraudulent courses of trade, by which so much injury is inflicted on



all classes, in the derangements of trade, and the destruction of capital; the injuries falling with especial force and cruelty on that class of the people who have to procure their means of living by simple labour."

I fully concur with Mr. W. Atkinson, that the section of Political Economists that has perpetuated the exclusive laws, without sympathy for labour, and the wish to extend to the workers their just rights, is reprehensible; and where, as he says, the profit accruing to the capitalist from the employment of his capital, is to be insured only by an abstraction of the advantage accruing to the labourer from the employment of his labour; that is, by keeping as low as possible the earnings or wages of those by whose labour all commodities are procured, is selfish, unjust, and infernal.

Again; he says, "Weak reasoners, who impugn the character of the Usury Laws, and oppose the application of them, are ever ready to assert that these laws are inoperative and futile; because by fraudulent ingenuity men are able to evade them; because men are at all times abounding in society, who desire to break these laws for the purpose of acquiring more gain; and because lawyers are at all times to be found, who will lend themselves for hire to the invention of means by which the national laws may be infringed with impunity. To this day they will add an important truism; namely, "wherever the just spirit of action is not present, it is in vain that you endeavour to enforce it, so as to fulfil the letter." See, also, Junius. "And so our political economists and our statesmen have become such mean panderers to the spirit of the world, the spirit of gain, the spirit of lust, the spirit of selfishness, as to lend their aid towards increasing the sufferings of Lazarus, in order that *Dives may wallow in more wealth*. Can moral and intellectual degradation become deeper?"\*

I would distinguish between the free trade advocates, and not mix that up at all times, as Mr. Atkinson does, with failings that are apart from free trade, properly considered: for he

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\* "Principles of Social and Political Economy," book IV. c. vii. p. 636.

says that the foregoing doctrine "is incorporated throughout the free trade system—is succinctly expressed by the youngest member of the school, Mr. J. S. Mill. This writer says: "We arrive at the conclusion of Ricardo and others, that the rate of profits depends upon wages; rising as wages fall, and falling as wages rise."\*

Mr. Huskisson adopted this doctrine, as is shown by the following passage: "If capital had not a fair remuneration here, it would seek for it in America. To give it a fair remuneration, the price of labour must be kept down."†

If all political economists and free trade advocates held such diabolical sentiments as these, their false reasonings would soon undermine them; but there are many of this profession that hold entirely opposite views. Do not Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden? without furnishing a long list, that is available. I consider these men know much better than to uphold so unprincipled a doctrine. I know well they are working hard, have been and ever will labour, to improve the condition of all, fairly and impartially. Their efforts are directed towards the improvement of both capital and labour; and, like Mr. Atkinson, they seek by mixing up, and by the free and promiscuous working together of labour and capital, that such a larger increase and diffusion will be made to the general productions of capital, that *all* shall be improved; not only the labourer but the capitalist shall, with unity of interests, be improved in moral, social, and practical condition. Let us indulge in the hope, that all are striving to promote this happy termination, though called by some by another name.

Those only that cease to practise an unselfish line of conduct, that diverge in daily life from the straight line, are alone the dangerous, and need laws to direct them into straight practices, until, by long usage and good habits, the motive of good shall become the spring of action in all. I fully concur with this author, that each man should comprehend, by his

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\* "Principles of Political Economy," by J. S. Mill, vol. i. p. 509.

† Huskisson's Speeches, April 28, 1825.

principle of conduct and by his actions, not his own interest and welfare only, but the interest and welfare of other men.

This will become the day of politeness in practice, having for its foundation a due love, and a due sacrifice, for the purpose of combining and insuring the welfare of one with the welfare of another.

“This law may not have been in us, yet it must be in us; for, if not, restoration cannot be accomplished.”\*

## CHAPTER CXXVIII.

THE GREAT FACT, THAT THERE IS ABUNDANCE FOR ALL,  
PROVED.

I HAVE before shown, that the estimated wealth of this country amounted to £6,000,000,000; that is, equal to £206 per head of the whole population. Now, calculating the average of families to be five in number, every family in this nation of Great Britain would possess £1030 were property and wealth thus divided and diffused over all. The next day (I have no more doubt than other people) there would be a great disproportion, and perhaps the biggest rogue would get the most. Nor do I dream for a moment to urge the diffusion of wealth by any other process than by taxation placed upon the largest owners, at an increased ratio; as I proposed in my Proximate Estimate. What proportionate advantage have the industriously needy many, derived from the immense increase of wealth that has taken place since the year 1800; when it was valued at £1,800,000,000, beyond seeing the crafty wealthy few increase their excessive sums threefold? A middle class has been

\* “Principles of Social and Political Economy,” book IV. c. vii. p. 645.

springing up, but what are the gigantic efforts of the present day to rise up out of nothing, to become a millionaire, or even to possess a respectable competence? Why the efforts are soul-destroying, and when acquired for the greater number, mind and body are destroyed—self-preservation the only feature of life remaining. I assert, with good knowledge of the fact, that the struggles of the third class are greater now than ever was known; because, while they are endeavouring to surround themselves with the comforts their recent education has taught them they are entitled to, they find the drawbacks are so numerous by the multiplied forms of taxation—which they cannot properly estimate because they are so indirect—that they are overwhelmed with difficulties, even while attempting to keep within frugal expenditure; educating their children only, and keeping them in cleanly and tidy condition.

The legislator must bring relief to this class, the most deserving class of this community, or the extortionate money-lender will grasp their little and well-guarded all, in spite of themselves. Can anything be more noble—can any act add so much sterling honour to the legislator, than which nothing will bear a comparison, should they voluntarily come to the rescue of these most *industriously needy many*. Would it not rivet the hearts of the needy to the hearts of the wealthy, and when they want support, in carrying some good and great work, could they not calculate upon the aid of that class to which they rendered this timely aid?

Mr. Leoni Levi, at the Statistical Society, furnished useful statistics on the proportionate amount of taxes paid by different parties, under three classes. The higher classes paid £22,550,000; the middle classes, £32,930,000; and the lower classes, £18,320,000; making a total amount of taxation, of £73,800,000. The middle and lower classes, therefore, pay together £51,250,000; nearly three-fourths of the entire taxation, to do which they ought, in all fairness, to possess three-fourths of the entire wealth, in order to make the proportion of wealth bear even equally upon the head of every individual; but since they cannot all possess the same wealth,



the next best process of taxation is, to make them pay according to the wealth they can count, for that is all requiring protection. That is all the rich consider protection; they unfairly make the needy help them to pay the protection that the rich only stand in need of. Not only our army and navy—our national defences,—but our civil laws are, for the greater part, necessary to protect property; and even our ecclesiastical laws should have the tendency to make every man respect and protect another man's wealth, much or little. So that protection of nationality and property are the primary and essential originators of taxation, which early and modern history prove. The old monetary tenure among the owners of land provided this protection for themselves originally; proving that property and wealth caused the taxation; they, therefore, now should pay it in all justness and fairness to the needy, that require not that protection to anything like a proportionate extent, if at all.

The needy man should be made to pay his proportionate share towards the civil laws, which he already does to some extent, in the police and county rates—in the summons he pays for, and the law expenses—in stamps and fees, &c., forming only a small amount of the great sum exacted from him.

If the present amount of taxation cannot be considered a hindrance to the development of national wealth, because it bears so lightly upon the owners of wealth, the incumbrance of it upon genuine industry is lamentably felt. Speculators and gamblers, of which this nation partakes too largely, may not feel it; nor does the money-lender to the little needy man feel it, because he is benefited by it, since its pressure upon this unfortunate class brings the needy man to him, when, without it, he might rally and do without his renewed bill at ruinous rates.

If selfishness yet abounds among the Legislature to so great an extent that fairness cannot be expected, I am willing to take an instalment of my progressive system, which I hope will ultimately be acted upon. I would take A DIRECT TAX OF ONE SHILLING IN THE POUND.

I have no doubt that the entire capital of the country, if

taken correctly, at the present time (1860) amounts to £8,000,000,000. *The National Debt might be thus removed:—*

Taking 8,000,000,000 for the present wealth of					
Great Britain, a tax of 1s. in the pound yields to					
the revenue	...	...	...	...	£400,000,000
Retaining the Spirit duty of	...	...	...	£9,188,842	
Do. Malt	...	...	...	5,592,624	
Do. Rum	...	...	...	1,296,267	
Do. Brandy	...	...	...	830,521	
					17,008,254
Do. on Tobacco and Snuff	...	...	...		5,454,216
Do. on Wine...	...	...	...		1,827,087
					£424,289,557

This would yield a revenue, as above, of £424,289,557. This amount, according to my plan, may be lessened or increased *pro rata* with the amount of wealth possessed. All would have abundance, whilst all would be relieved that need it. The loss now incurred by the indirect mode of taxation would then in part be saved, amounting perhaps to £6,000,000. Hence an abundant revenue would result from this improved process of taxation, and the National Debt be paid off in TWO YEARS.

Should another million or two be required, place 6d. in the pound extra upon all owners of wealth exceeding £1,000,000. This would be an initiation of the right principle, and a step in the right direction to pay off all the National Debt.

When we know there are 439 articles of trade and commerce of such trivial imports that they produce only £751,000 to the revenue, the advantage of direct taxation must be evident; as must also the oppressive and obstructive injuries affecting trade and commerce in the highest degree be objectionable.

I shall be told by the Timeocratic paper, that we are gradually progressing, and ought to be content; also, that convulsions are injurious to a nation. Will that long and extenuating neck of the Timeocracy make a similar stretch upon its memory, and for once speak the truth, and say we are retrogressing, instead of progressing, in our fairness of taxation? Not so long ago, but this short-memory organ must recollect the fact, that in

former times a tax of 4s. in the pound was commonly levied upon property. Then a fifth of their actual capital was contributed to the State, or 4s. in the pound—20 per cent. of their property. If at that period the justness of taxing *property*, now not recognized to the same extent, was recognized then, let that truthless paper no longer poison this country by boasting, upon an unfounded assumption, vaunting progress when no progress in the right direction has been made in the mode of taxation since that time; retrogression has been perpetuated by selfish legislators and their dishonest advocates, false in principle and purpose.

If 4s. in the pound could then be paid, when only one-fourth of the capital existed in the country, certainly 1s. or 1s. 6*d.* can now be paid with four times the facility. That pseudo-popular organ would say: But the expenditure of these great owners of wealth has much increased, and the tax would bear more heavily upon them than formerly. Just the very argument they use in the prospective, I use now in the time present: the expenses of the needy have greatly increased, and taxes now bear down oppressively and ruinously upon industry; their difficulties now are imminent; the heartrending torture of anxiety existing among the steady, honest, conscious struggler is distressing, and actually producing a disease called “neurosis of the vagus nerve”—a new infliction, brought about by exposure, by constant efforts to live without taking sufficient care of health, by protracted indigestion, from the cares of industry, and by perpetuated burdens endured in undue proportion.

Escaping from one difficulty one day and one hour, by the oppression resulting from monopoly among merchants; another hour by a similar oppression from money-speculators, and bankers; another, from tightness, and panics, by fraudulent attempts, constantly tempting and ensnaring the honest, by constant demands upon your purse from those worse-off than yourself—all affecting the nerves of the stomach, causing torture and misery, till the heart sickens in despair, while living in a world of superfluous abundance.

In order to estimate fairly whether the burden of taxation be much or little, I adduce the following computation:—Every individual in Great Britain is taxed at £2 14s. 3d. per head, including local taxation; therefore a family of five in number, composed of man, wife, and three children, about the average of families, is taxed to the extent of £13 11s. 3d. per year; but as the taxes are now raised principally upon articles of consumption, at least 33 per cent. must be added on to the £13 11s. 3d., which forms the wholesale and retail profit upon the articles before they can reach the consumer, making altogether £20 6s. 10½d. per annum, arising from the tax, and together with the tax. The working man, then, with a wage of 12s. per week, or £31 4s. per year, having an average family, is put to the expense of two-thirds of his income for the taxes and their results, before he can see his earnings; in other words, out of 12s. per week, the taxes costs him nearly 8s. per week; or, out of £31 4s., he pays £20 6s. 10½d., amounting to nearly two-thirds of his income.

I shall place this now more clearly before you in figures:—

			£	s.	d.
Taxes, per family	...	...	13	11	3
Profit paid by consumer...	...	...	6	15	7½
			<hr/>		
Total	...	...	20	6	10½
			<hr/>		
Deduct from	...	...	31	4	0
			20	6	10½
			<hr/>		
			10	17	1½

£10 17s. 1½d. is 4s. 2d. per week, which is the net amount the working man receives out of 12s. per week. Who will, after this, attempt to assert that taxes, as they are now levied, do not bear down oppressively upon labour?

Now, Mr. Leoni Levi should have made this calculation before he boasted that "taxation did not paralyze *in any way* the development of wealth." For I have now proved that *in one "way,"* at least, taxation paralyzes the industry of the



country ; while I am ready to admit that mere wealth is not paralyzed, for the very reason that mere wealth is comparatively released, just in proportion to the pressure it produces upon labour.

Who will be the first and last to attempt to hush up this glaring piece of injustice that is inflicted upon the low-wage man ? Well might the son of toil have nothing but the Union for his comfort in his old age, instead of a home with his family—the smallest hope that should be afforded him !

Will your hearts ever be hardened, and your eyes ever be closed, against justice—justice only ? No mercy do I ask of such merciless hearts. Extend a future to the industry of the country now and for ever, with good grace, or you may repent when the privilege remains not in your hands. Can you, superfluously rich, begrudge this man release from this injustice ? Will you longer inflict this heavy yoke ?

I am so frequently told that the taxes bear alike upon all, that I am induced to prove the fact to be the contrary. A millionaire, I am told, employs more hands ; therefore he pays an increased share of taxes. Let us see if this be correct. This millionaire employs—say, in his household, 3 men-servants and 2 gardeners (many do not employ more beyond those that are profitable to them, which in fairness must not enter into this calculation) ; 5 men servants and 5 female servants, making 10, his family 5, making 15 in number, paying 8s. per head per week ; making in all for taxes £6 per week, or £312 per annum. This millionaire's income is, say £50,000. Now, two-thirds off his income, which would be the proportion his taxation bears to the labouring man of 12s. per week, and the amount would be the round numbers of £33,332, instead of which he only pays £312.

It may now be said that millionaires employ many more domestic servants, although they are not obliged to have that number ; so I will double the number, and instead of 15 say 30 in family ; that will double the amount of £312, making it £624 : this bears but a poor relation to £33,334, *pro ratâ* with what labour pays. It will be said again that

these have wealth and the other have none ; so much the worse, for the less chance is afforded to the industrious man to rise out of the penury this unjust system of taxation purposely inflicts upon him.

Where is the love of the neighbour with all ? Where is fairness of dealing ? This explains why the industrious have not the franchise ; why every effort is made to exclude them from ever possessing it. Selfishness, injustice, greediness, constitute the attributes of the legislator. Unblushing rulers, look into your hearts, and perceive how you are forfeiting the affections of a good people !

## CHAPTER CXXIX.

HARMONY IS THE ULTIMATE OBJECT OF CREATION, AND IS A LAW WELL WORTH MAN'S INVESTIGATION.

IN most sciences it is immediately enforced, and forms the basis of its laws—wherever it is not the basis, the premises are always intermediate or preparatory to harmony, unless error obtrude and deviate from nature's laws by man's interpositions and misconceptions.

Harmony indicates and intimates to man pre-conceived arrangement = prescience = pre-established harmony.

This is much more consistent than the doctrine of occasional causality ; which supposes a constant interposition of Divine power ; this would be interfering with the freedom of man, so I must beg to differ from Leibnitz, in his *Theodicée* and *Monadologie*.

I prefer the doctrine of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that the regular movements of the heavenly bodies throughout space formed a kind of harmony, which they called "the harmony of spheres."

For a man out of his sphere is out of his element, and should either remain inert and quiet, or take great care not to disarrange society by his dissonant condition : since man propagates his errors, not only to his own progeny, but to his locality, which might extend to a community for generations and centuries.

Take Dr. Johnson, for instance, who had no ear for music ; of whom it was proverbial, “ that he could not tell the scrape of a cart-wheel from a lady’s voice.” How unfit must such an imperfectly organized ear have been for a lexicographer, where a refined organ of sound is indispensable ; he was out of his sphere, and the last man to make a dictionary. This accounts for the want of euphony in his words ; there is in very many words no harmony, nor sound consistent with the mode of spelling. The word blood, as now pronounced, should be spelt blud. Plough should be same as cow, *i.e.*, plow. Door should have been spelt dōr, if euphony had been exercised. Tough ought to be spelt tuf ; prove, prūv ; mighty ought to be mite ; militia ought to be milishea ; methought should be methawt.

But to multiply these ineuphonic words, wherein there is an absence of orthography, would fill a volume. The excellent Johnson possessed so many other qualities that entitle him to our respect, that, but for the difficulty he has entailed upon the little boys, and big boys at school, we could well forgive him, and shall do so yet—so soon as his system is altered.

Let us notice the opinions of the anatomist. Sir B. Brodie, for instance, says, “ The division of the nerves which extend from the brain to the larynx, destroys the voice.” \*

“ If the upper part of the cerebrum be removed, the animal becomes blind, and apparently stupefied : but not so much so but that he may be roused, and that he can then walk with steadiness and precision. The most important part of the whole brain seems to be a particular portion of the central

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\* Sir Benjamin Brodie.

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organ, or medulla oblongata. While this remains entire, the animal retains its sensibility, breathes, and performs instinctive motions. But if this small mass of the nervous system be injured, there is an end of their several functions, and death immediately ensues."\* So much M. Magendie and M. Flourens have to say.

An absence of the organ of speech may be the cause of dumbness; but otherwise the individual may possess excellent powers; write beautifully, and be clever in arithmetic, not differing from other intelligent children. However, we know not that there are not some other organs that may be so defective that speech might be dangerous.

I frequently find persons not having an ear for music have imperfect judgment. So that a man touching language without the very organ that is indispensable for the accomplishment of his work, should not be the lexicographer for future generations.

How correct are the orderly operations of nature, compared with those of man! How perfect are the classes of the Erucas, or the maggots, in relation to their aurelias, or their chrysalides! How distinctive are the forms and colours of the eggs of the birds of the air! How distinct, well marked, and harmonious are their various tones; all euphonizes till you come to the raven, cormorant, or the low carnivorous tribes; even then the law of order is seen to exist; harmony reigns, and sounds are in perfect accordance to the nature that made it: no blundering, similar to the Latin declensions, which only exhibit the barbarous and clumsy attempt at making a language grammatical,—again punishing our little and big boys in and out of school, to learn a complex and confused attempt at arrangement of language. Our own English language has settled the whole of the Latin declensions, by a dozen or less of little words, or prefixes, as *a*, *of*, *to*, *into*, *on*, *from*, *by*, *with*, &c. What horrid confusion do the five declensions produce, and what

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\* "Psychological Inquiries," page 43, 2nd Dialogue.



blundering the exceptions evince! What waste of time and intellect, what misery have they inflicted upon all people! Why do not the Masters and Fellows, the Docti, and Eruditi, alter this scholastic error—do as the Emperor of Russia has done? for which he shows his good sense and sympathy for his country! forbid it to be taught without special permission!!!

Forbid it also to be used in our pharmaceutical, chemical, surgical, and legal institutions.

For its object is well known to be exclusiveness; in other words, shut out my neighbour.

I have no doubt that some of my impatient readers will say, What on earth have Latin and Dr. Johnson to do with Government upon First Principles? I will now show what harmony has to do with all things; more especially with Governmental matters. The expression outwardly must ever be in accordance with the principle inwardly—true to the feeling within. No subterfuge must be allowed in expressing First Principles; distinctions of tones will even indicate the quality of the man. The very attempt to deceive will some day become evident.

The bland tone without the true bland nature within will discover the hypocrite.

The dissembler will have to hide his face, rather than expose himself to be what he is. Nature must do her great work; no law can ultimately oppose her. If now for a time she permit obscurities to intercept her brilliant, essential truth, soon she will dissipate her obstructive cloud, and stand forth gloriously in her bright array; so luminous will be her mental atmosphere, that deceit shall be clear as the open act of crime.

Cheats shall be punished under the acts of frauds. Artifice shall be permitted only as it shall be justly ingenious, not as now *ingeniously unjust*.

That which shall be forbidden shall not permit the intention of the thing forbidden to be stratagetically evaded by learned councils. Fewer words and more justice shall pervade this land from north to south; the people, instead of a Babylon, shall be building a heaven which themselves shall behold with rightful joy. The outward expression shall be harmonious

with the inward quality, without the lie that now stamps the face of the globe.

Nature shall be developed by the aid of man's lofty and pure mind; she then shall be arrayed in the splendour of her innocent beauty—glorious as good—magnificent as true, in her harmonious development.

Instead of a lexicon, man shall learn the right lines of principles and actions thence proceeding, study the delights of his own straight path, that shall not have encroached on to his neighbour's, with an integrity of purpose, and an integrity of practice; health of body will improve as the mind becomes orderly in action, according to its own even impulsations of good.

Thus shall he learn to spell as well the man, as the word, for the word is known by its sound; euphony, orthography, prosody, and harmony are therefore the analogical modes I have preferred using, in order to illustrate the evolution of truth, which must proceed in direct lines from the centre to the circumference, reverberating in the same right lines from the circumference to the centre. This should constitute harmonious centralization, perfectly harmonious, holding all under the orderly control of nature's own First Principles. Then, and not till then, can it be said upon the face of this earth, that Government is established, though emperors and kings should become numerous as the sands on the sea shore.

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## APPENDIX I.

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### POLICY IN RAISING LOANS FOR THE STATE.

It is very desirable that we should arrive at some definite decision in reference to the constantly-recurring recourse to loans. The public were recently alarmed for awhile, by a suggested loan of 12,000,000*l.* for fortifications ; during the Russian war it was resorted to with little hesitation—the Irish famine supplied a similar pretext. We shall possibly excite some surprise, when we gravely state, that a review of the state of our finances during the great French war, from 1793 to 1815, justifies us in the opinion, that a recourse to loans was unwarrantable and uncalled for.

To obtain attention to an opinion so strongly expressed, we must refer to the results the national balance sheets supply :—

The total charges on account of the Funded and Unfounded Debt, from 1793 to 1816 inclusive, were . . . . .	£ 201,406,161
Total charges of the State, inclusive of war . . . . .	1,079,244,746
	<hr/> £1,280,650,907
Revenue raised . . . . .	1,166,564,034
Excess of Expenditure over Receipts . . . . .	<hr/> £114,086,873

To meet this (comparatively speaking) trifling deficit, we raised by way of loan 520,000,000*l.* ; and after taking credit for the operations of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, a balance of debt remained in 1816, raised during the war, of 396,332,206*l.*, which could have been saved by an annual increase of taxation during the twenty-two years of war, of a little in excess of 5,000,000*l.* per annum ; but it is still more instructive, that this deficiency took place in the first ten years of the war ; and that the revenue, from 1802 to 1816, would have been more than sufficient to have defrayed the whole expenditure, had it not been for the

loans contracted between 1792 and 1803. Ignorance of the true principles of finance cost us, therefore, 282,000,000*l.*, to leave out of the question the annual interest from that date to this, with all its important accessories influencing and controlling our national progress.

If the loans raised were uncalled for, the mode of raising them displayed the grossest fallacies, hardly conceivable in these days, but that Sir G. C. Lewis perpetrated the same errors in raising the Russian war loan of 16,000,000*l.* The terms were, that for every 100*l.* subscribed in money, the contractors should be entitled to receive 100*l.* in 3 per cent. Consolidated Annuities, and a terminable annuity for thirty years. The annual charge of the annuity is 116,000*l.*, of the loan (subject to reduction on payment of the stipulated instalments) 480,000*l.*, or within a fraction of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. If our readers will follow us to a further and larger development of the same error, its importance will not be found to be exaggerated. It will be seen to be clear, that the funding of a small amount of stock, at a higher rate of interest, when the national credit is strained, to be redeemed at a lower rate, in more peaceable or prosperous times, is the true policy, if loans are to be resorted to. We now pay, with the terminable annuity as the bonus, the same interest during peace that was sufficient in time of war. Some of these transactions are little better than the ruinous and frenzied efforts of a Delafield, or any other spendthrift.

A loan of 12,000,000, in 1781, was represented by 18,000,000*l.* Three per Cent., and 3,000,000*l.* Four per Cent. Stock. 9,000,000*l.* bonus was thus created, or at a rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; whereas, had it been raised at even 6 per cent., the 12,000,000*l.* could have been redeemed in future years at 3 per cent. at par, instead of at 21,000,000*l.* The same ignorant abandonment of the national interests was the policy governing all loans throughout the great war. The next loan of 13,500,000*l.* introduces us to the Long Annuities ; the price was 13,500,000*l.* Three per Cents., 6,750,000*l.* Four per Cents., and an annuity for seventy-eight years of 17*s.* 6*d.* per cent., nearly equal to 6 per cent., impossible to be redeemed, except by recognizing the 6,750,000*l.* bonus as actual stock. In 1795, a loan of 18,000,000*l.* stood as 21,000,000*l.* Three per Cents., 4,500,000*l.* Four per Cents. with a Long Annuity of 58,500*l.* In 1815, a loan of 27,000,000*l.*



gave to every subscriber of 100*l.*, 174*l.* Three per Cents. and 10*l.* Four per Cents. Had these loans been contracted at 6 or even 7 per cent. at the crisis on a par stock, we should have paid it at the most for three or four years ; our National Debt would have stood at five-sixths of its present total, and our annual interest account at one-half its present total. The 396,000,000*l.* named in our early illustration represents an amount of stock created, and on which interest is paid of 596,000,000*l.* We sincerely hope that these overwhelming results will prepare the public mind for a total change in the mode of raising loans in hours of national difficulty, and that the error of Sir G. C. Lewis, of recent date will not be permitted to rank as a modern precedent.

Mr. Gladstone asserted a sound principle when he proposed, as far as possible, to let each year, of war or peace, bear the burden it brought. Sir G. C. Lewis sought to secure an inconsiderable present advantage at a great ultimate cost. It is clearly a mistaken notion to spread the expenses of a war over the lifetime of the existing generation, and to bequeath to posterity its estimated share of the burden. The whole property of the nation is charged with the debt as with a mortgage, and it cannot affect the wealth bequeathed, whether it is bequeathed subject to the mortgage or freed from the incumbrance. A nice calculation may be made as to the value of the capital borrowed, as so much less raised by taxation, and, therefore, in the hands of the people, to reproduce wealth ; but, the more minutely it is investigated, the greater will the error of our present system appear, and the more sound and statesmenlike the views of Mr. Gladstone. A period of peace is that best adapted to review our policy in war, and we will not do more than open the discussion upon the present occasion.

If the facility with which money can be obtained by way of loan was the only circumstance to be considered, our system of loans appears to be perfection. The large capitalist, intent only on the advantage of investing his capital in the best market, will not share our views, *unless a high spirit of patriotism is infused into his calculations*—a calculation difficult to realize ; but we are convinced that the more the permanent and remote effect is considered, the more sound and assuring will be the views we have ventured to put forth. It is a subject which will require and deserves much discussion, and we will endeavour to continue the inquiry.

## APPENDIX II.

## IMPERIAL REVENUE.

The *Ordinary* Public Income of Great Britain for the year ended  
5th January, 1852.

## ACTUAL RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
From the Customs . . . . .	20,118,970	3	0
From the Excise . . . . .	13,882,597	12	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
From the Stamps . . . . .	6,061,006	4	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
From the tax on lands and tenements .	1,142,905	14	6 $\frac{5}{4}$
From taxes assessed on windows . . .	944,857	3	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
On inhabited houses . . . . .	16,458	0	0
On servants, dogs, carriages, &c. . . .	1,685,763	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
From the Property and Income Tax .	5,440,249	16	10
From the Post-Office . . . . .	2,217,308	13	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
From taxes on certain pensions and salaries	4,510	8	2
From the Crown lands . . . . .	352,957	0	4 $\frac{5}{12}$
From small branches of the hereditary revenue	25,826	6	1
From surplus fees of regulated public offices.	100,216	16	6
	<hr/> £51,993,726 19 10 $\frac{9}{12}$ <hr/>		

The Ordinary Public Income of Ireland for the year ended 5th  
January, 1852.

From the Customs . . . . .	2,078,104	19	2
From the Excise . . . . .	1,517,822	14	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
From the Stamps . . . . .	468,043	5	11
From the tax on lands and tenements .	Nil.		
From assessed taxes . . . . .	Nil.		
From the Property and Income-tax .	Nil.		
From the Post-Office. . . . .	204,859	10	9
From surplus fees of regulated public offices	8,699	11	10
	<hr/> £4,277,530 1 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ <hr/>		

The *Extraordinary* Revenue of the United Kingdom, for the year ended 5th January, 1852.

	£	s.	d.
Money received from the East India Company on account of retired pay, pensions, &c., of the forces serving, or having served in India . . . . .	60,000	0	0
Money returned by Prince Leopold, the King of the Belgians, out of the annuity of 50,000 <i>l.</i> granted to him . . . . .	36,000	0	0
Moneys repaid by sundry public accountants . . . . .	54,297	11	9
Money arising from the Sale of Old Stores, and extra receipts for the Forces . . . . .	413,155	16	11
	<u>£563,453</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>

## RECAPITULATION.

Actual Receipts of the Ordinary Public Revenue of Great Britain . . . . .	51,933,726	19	10 $\frac{2}{12}$
Actual Receipts of the Ordinary Public Revenue of Ireland . . . . .	4,277,530	1	11 $\frac{5}{4}$
Actual Receipts of the Extraordinary Public Revenue of the United Kingdom . . . . .	563,453	8	8
Total amount . . . . .	<u>£56,834,710</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>51<math>\frac{1}{12}</math></u>

## IMPERIAL EXPENDITURE.

## WAR EXPENDITURE.

## PAST.

Sums paid for Interest on the funded and unfunded debt . . . . .	28,017,127	5	8
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## PRESENT.

Sums paid on account of the Army . . . . .	6,485,498	1	10
Ditto ditto Navy . . . . .	5,849,916	16	5
Ditto ditto Ordnance . . . . .	2,238,442	8	0
Ditto ditto Kaffir War . . . . .	300,000	0	0
	<u>£14,873,857</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>

## DISBURSEMENTS FOR ROYALTY.

	£	s.	d.
The Queen's Civil List . . . . .	385,000	0	0
Pensions granted by the Queen . . . . .	12,730	0	0
	<u>£397,730</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

## FOR THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Annuity to the Duke of Cumberland, (late King of Hanover) . . . . .	21,000	0	0
Ditto to the Duchess of Gloucester . . . . .	16,000	0	0
Ditto to Prince Leopold, King of the Belgians . . . . .	50,000	0	0
Ditto to the Duchess of Kent . . . . .	30,000	0	0
Ditto to Prince Albert . . . . .	30,000	0	0
Ditto to the Duke of Cambridge . . . . .	12,000	0	0
Ditto to Princess Mary of Cambridge . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Ditto to the Duchess of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Ditto to the Duchess of Cambridge . . . . .	6,000	0	0
	<u>£171,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

## FOR THE ROYAL SERVANTS.

Pensions to the Servants of the late Queen Charlotte . . . . .	2,662	16	8
Ditto ditto George the Third . . . . .	2,987	2	2
Ditto ditto Queen Caroline . . . . .	279	12	0
Ditto, formerly on the civil list of George the Fourth, William the Fourth, the hereditary Revenues of Scotland, and the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Duties . . . . .	57,323	7	2
Ditto, formerly on the civil list for Ireland . . . . .	16,516	3	11
Salaries and allowances heretofore paid out of the Civil List . . . . .	21,823	15	8
	<u>£101,592</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>

## PENSIONS FOR NAVAL AND MILITARY SERVICES.

Lord Rodney . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Dowager Lady Rodney . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Earl of Camperdown (see also 997 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> in the Miscellaneous list below) . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Lord Abercrombie . . . . .	2,000	0	0



	£	s.	d.
Earl Amherst . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Viscount St. Vincent . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Earl Nelson . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Countess of Nelson . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Dowager Countess of Nelson . . . . .	2,000	0	0
The Duke of Wellington . . . . .	4,000	0	0
Viscount Beresford . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Viscount Combermere . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Viscount Exmouth . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Lord Seaton . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Lord Keane . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Sarah Collingwood . . . . .	500	0	0
Lord Gough . . . . .	1,000	0	0
	<u>£32,500</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

## PENSIONS FOR CIVIL SERVICES.

Granville Penn . . . . .	4,000	0	0
Lord Colchester . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Lord Bexley . . . . .	1,033	6	8
Lord Glenelg . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Henry Goulburn . . . . .	2,000	0	0
Stephen Rumbold Lushington . . . . .	1,500	0	0
John Wilson Croker . . . . .	1,500	0	0
Henry Hobhouse . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Sir George Clark . . . . .	1,200	0	0
William Richard Hamilton . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Robert William Hay . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Viscount Canterbury . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Sir Henry Pottinger . . . . .	1,500	0	0
The late George Canning's family . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Sir James Stephen . . . . .	1,000	0	0
S. M. Philips . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Officers of certain late Companies . . . . .	8,425	3	4
Spencer Perceval . . . . .	2,700	0	0
Henry Ellis . . . . .	1,400	0	0
An Office-keeper at Dublin . . . . .	14	8	8
Mrs. Alicia Knipe and Children . . . . .	266	18	8
	<u>£41,539</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>4</u>

## PENSIONS FOR JUDICIAL SERVICES.

	£	s.	d.
Lord Brougham and Vaux . . . . .	5,000	0	0
Lord Lyndhurst . . . . .	5,000	0	0
Lord Cottenham . . . . .	2,829	13	4
Lord Denman . . . . .	4,000	0	0
Sir Thomas Erskine . . . . .	3,500	0	0
Sir James Wigram . . . . .	3,339	1	7
Sir Edward Sugden . . . . .	3,692	6	0
Lord Langdale . . . . .	217	5	2
	<u>£27,578</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>

## MISCELLANEOUS PENSIONS.

Mrs. Sarah Hamilton and Children, granted in the 37th year of George the Third's reign . . . . .	625	0	8
The Prince of Meeklenburgh-Strelitz, granted in the 38th year of George the Third's reign . . . . .	1,788	4	4
Earl Camperdown, granted in the 38th year of George the Third's reign . . . . .	997	9	0
(See also 2000 <i>l.</i> in the Naval and Military list above.)			
Annuities to sundry persons for loss of emoluments by the Union of Ireland . . . . .	2,539	8	9
Ditto to ditto who suffered by the Rebellion in 1799 . . . . .	235	8	6
Compensations to Officers of late Courts of Justice, &c. . . . .	19,768,	17	0
	<u>£25,954</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>

## SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES.

The Speaker of the House of Commons . . . . .	5,000	0	0
The Keeper of the Lions in the Tower of London . . . . .	206	0	0
The Commissioners for auditing Public Accounts and Salaries, and contingencies in their office . . . . .	49,831	11	5
The salaries of the Clergy in the West Indies . . . . .	20,300	0	0
Salaries formerly charged on the hereditary revenues of Scotland . . . . .	6,124	2	4
Two Inspectors of Anatomy in England . . . . .	200	0	0
And expenses of their office . . . . .	628	13	6
Inspector of ditto in Scotland, and ditto . . . . .	162	0	0

Salaries and contingent expenses, National Debt	£	s.	d.
Office . . . . .	13,600	0	0
The Comptroller-General of the Exchequer . . . . .	2,000	0	0
The Keeper of the Tennis Court . . . . .	83	0	0
Salaries and expenses in the office of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages . . . . .	35,685	18	9
Salaries and expenses in the office of the Commissioners of Tithes . . . . .	14,412	19	9
Expenses in the office for the issue of Exchequer Bills for public works, and for West India relief . . . . .	1,145	0	0
The Comptroller of the Mint . . . . .	289	10	0
Compensation to the Universities of the United Kingdom, for the loss of books under the Copyright Act . . . . .	3,029	1	10
Office of Metropolitan Buildings . . . . .	3,000	0	0
Inclosure Commissioners . . . . .	16,677	10	8
Lunacy Commissioners, and expenses . . . . .	12,058	16	9
Copyhold Commission, and ditto . . . . .	2,512	13	9
Fees for passing South Sea Company's accounts . . . . .	225	0	0
House of Commons' Clerk-Assistant . . . . .	2,500	0	0
Ditto second ditto . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Ditto Sergeant-at-Arms . . . . .	1,200	0	0
Ditto Deputy ditto . . . . .	800	0	0
Ditto Speaker's Secretary . . . . .	500	0	0
Salaries in the Paymaster of Civil Services' office . . . . .	1,000	0	0
Ditto of the Inspectors of the Schools of Anatomy in Ireland . . . . .	470	0	0
The Royal Irish Academy, Ireland . . . . .	146	17	8
Allowances to sundry persons, Act 41 Geo. III., Ireland . . . . .	1,567	17	4
Compensation to ditto ditto, Geo. IV. . . . .	2,777	15	0
The late Irish Treasury . . . . .	183	2	4
The Board of Education, and expenses, Ireland . . . . .	600	14	4
The Board of Charitable Bequests, ditto . . . . .	1,150	0	0
The Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, Ireland . . . . .	3,463	1	5
Maynooth College . . . . .	26,360	0	0
Colleges in Ireland . . . . .	20,811	0	0
	£251,702	6	10

## SALARIES OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

		£	s.	d.
FRANCE,	Ambassador . . . .	9,000	0	0
	Secretary of Embassy . . . .	1,037	1	7
	First paid Attaché . . . .	400	0	0
	Second paid Attaché . . . .	300	0	0
OTTOMAN PORTE,	Ambassador . . . .	7,000	0	0
	Secretary of Embassy . . . .	737	18	6
	Oriental Secretary . . . .	500	0	0
	Third paid Attaché . . . .	250	0	0
	Fourth paid Attaché . . . .	250	0	0
	Fifth paid Attaché . . . .	250	0	0
RUSSIA,	Sixth paid Attaché . . . .	250	0	0
	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . .	6,182	4	1
	Secretary of Legation . . . .	1,102	17	2
	First paid Attaché . . . .	400	0	0
AUSTRIA,	Second paid Attaché . . . .	300	0	0
	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . .	1,551	2	4
	Secretary of Embassy . . . .	817	10	0
	Secretary of Legation . . . .	415	0	0
	First paid Attaché . . . .	350	0	0
SPAIN,	Second paid Attaché . . . .	139	8	6
	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . .	5,900	0	0
	Secretary of Legation . . . .	550	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . .	205	13	6
PRUSSIA,	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . .	4,090	7	0
	Secretary of Legation . . . .	886	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . .	250	0	0
UNITED STATES,	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . .	4,663	13	2
	Secretary of Legation . . . .	782	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . .	35	19	1
TWO SICILIES,	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . .	4,400	0	0
	Secretary of Legation . . . .	500	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . .	104	3	4



		£	s.	d.
PORTUGAL,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	4,765	7	0
	Secretary of Legation . . .	198	3	4
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	250	0	0
BRAZIL,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	4,500	0	0
	Secretary of Legation . . .	508	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	250	0	0
HOLLAND,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	2,631	8	10
	Secretary of Legation . . .	1,358	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	570	0	0
SWEDEN,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	1,841	12	8
	Secretary of Legation . . .	1,265	0	0
HANOVER,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	3,326	11	0
	Secretary of Legation . . .	807	0	0
BELGIUM,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	3,091	7	1
	Secretary of Legation . . .	816	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	250	0	0
DENMARK,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	4,108	15	9
	Secretary of Legation . . .	750	0	0
BAVARIA,	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	2,852	15	0
	Secretary of Legation . . .	1,181	0	0
SAXONY,	Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	2,300	0	0
	Secretary of Legation . . .	850	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	250	0	0
TUSCANY,	Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	1,006	9	0
	Secretary of Legation . . .	890	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	500	0	0
SWISS CANTONS,	Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	1,868	15	0
	Secretary of Legation . . .	695	9	0
GREECE,	Minister Plenipotentiary . . .	2,800	0	3
	Secretary of Legation . . .	650	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	250	0	0

		£	s.	d.
MEXICO,	Minister Plenipotentiary . . . . .	876	16	1
	Secretary of Legation . . . . .	2,380	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	200	0	0
NEW GRENADA,	Chargé d' Affaires . . . . .	365	0	0
BUENOS AYRES,	Minister Plenipotentiary . . . . .	3,300	0	0
VENEZUELA,	Chargé d' Affaires . . . . .	299	0	0
PERU,	Chargé d' Affaires . . . . .	365	0	0
CHILI,	Chargé d' Affaires . . . . .	365	0	0
MONTE VIDEO,	Chargé d' Affaires . . . . .	365	0	0
SARDINIA,	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . . .	4,100	0	0
	Secretary of Legation . . . . .	750	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	250	0	0
WURTEMBERG,	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . . .	2,228	6	11
	Secretary of Legation . . . . .	400	0	0
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	396	16	8
FRANKFORT,	Envoy Extraordinary and Mini- ster Plenipotentiary . . . . .	2,826	5	9
	Paid Attaché . . . . .	367	0	0
BOLIVIA,	Chargé d' Affaires . . . . .	365	0	0
CENTRAL AMERICA,	Chargé d' Affaires . . . . .	365	0	0
		<hr/> £122,356 17 7 <hr/>		

## PENSIONS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS.

Sir Robert Adair . . . . .	2,056	0	0
Viscount Strangford . . . . .	2,056	0	0
Sir Edward Thornton . . . . .	1,786	0	0
Alexander Cockburn, Esq. . . . .	1,516	0	0
John P. Morier, Esq. . . . .	1,516	0	0
Bartholomew Frere, Esq. . . . .	799	10	0
George Hammond, Esq. . . . .	1,066	0	0
The Right Honourable Henry Pierrepont . . . . .	1,066	0	0
Colin Mackenzie, Esq. . . . .	886	0	0
A. S. Douglas, Esq. . . . .	706	0	0
Terrick Hamilton, Esq. . . . .	706	0	0
Viscount Ponsonby . . . . .	2,125	0	0
Earl of Orford . . . . .	706	0	0

	£	s.	d.
E. P. Werry, Esq. . . . .	436	0	0
The Right Honourable James Talbot . . . . .	131	10	0
Sir Henry Willock . . . . .	346	0	0
Rev. Thomas Penrose . . . . .	106	10	0
Edward James Dawkins, Esq. . . . .	786	0	0
William Turner, Esq. . . . .	900	0	0
Viscount Melbourne . . . . .	1,700	0	0
Sir George Jackson . . . . .	300	0	0
Lord Erskine . . . . .	1,276	0	0
H. Mandeville, Esq. . . . .	900	0	0
Sir Arthur Aston . . . . .	700	0	0
Lord Heytesbury . . . . .	1,700	0	0
H. Hamilton, Esq. . . . .	1,300	0	0
Honourable W. F. Strangways . . . . .	900	0	0
Earl of Morton . . . . .	436	0	0
Sir R. Pakenham . . . . .	675	0	0
W. G. Ouseley, Esq. . . . .	500	0	0
C. Bankhead, Esq. . . . .	350	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£30,441	10	0

## SALARIES TO OFFICERS OF COURTS OF JUSTICE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Master of the Rolls . . . . .	7,000	0	0
Vice-Chancellor . . . . .	4,683	18	2
Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench . . . . .	8,000	0	0
Four Puisne Judges of Ditto . . . . .	20,000	0	0
Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas . . . . .	7,000	0	0
Four Puisne Judges of Ditto . . . . .	20,000	0	0
Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer . . . . .	7,000	0	0
Four Barons Ditto . . . . .	20,000	0	0
Cursitor Baron Ditto . . . . .	243	0	0
Judge of the High Court of Admiralty . . . . .	4,000	0	0
Assistant Judge of the Court of Sessions, Middlesex . . . . .	1,200	0	0
Clerk of the Hanaper in the Court of Chancery . . . . .	1,091	0	0
Expenses of the Rolls' Chapel . . . . .	225	0	0
Clerk of the Patents, Court of Chancery . . . . .	400	0	0
The Clerk of the Crown, Court of Chancery . . . . .	1,000	0	0
North and South Wales Circuits . . . . .	809	19	2
Miscellaneous Services . . . . .	2,656	10	2
	<hr/>		
	£105,309	7	6

SALARIES, COMPENSATIONS, &c. TO OFFICERS OF COURTS OF  
JUSTICE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	£	s.	d.
Compensations for the loss of fees and emolu- ments to sundry persons of the Four Courts	40,339	10	9
Late Marshalsea Courts . . . . .	1,112	0	0
Payments to certain persons in the Queen's Prison	3,017	6	1
Salaries of Treasurers of County Courts . . .	9,900	0	0
In aid of the fee fund of the Crown Office . . .	4,454	8	5
Deficiency of the fee fund of the Registrars, and Marshals' Office . . . . .	879	4	2
Compensations to persons in Courts of Request, &c.	14,982	12	0
Ditto in Palace Court and Court of Record for Manor of Peveril . . . . .	7,573	9	8
Deficiencies of fees in Master's Office, Court of Common Pleas . . . . .	2,472	4	8
Outstanding debts of Courts of Requests . . .	28,000	0	0
	<u>£112,730</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>9</u>

REVISING BARRISTERS' REMUNERATION.

For revising the lists of voters in England and Wales . . . . .	<u>£17,850</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
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LONDON POLICE ESTABLISHMENT.

The expenses of the Police Courts . . . . .	32,884	11	8
Ditto of the mounted police, the river police, and the police van force . . . . .	20,000	0	0
Superannuation of the late horse and foot patrol .	5,075	4	0
Towards maintaining the police of the Metropolis	73,615	13	10
The Commissioners of the Metropolitan police	2,322	0	5
	<u>£133,897</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>

SALARIES TO OFFICERS OF COURTS OF JUSTICE IN IRELAND.

Lord Chancellor . . . . .	8,000	0	0
Master of the Rolls . . . . .	3,969	4	8
Five Masters in Ordinary . . . . .	14,265	5	10
Two Examiners in Chief . . . . .	738	10	0
Accountant General, and three clerks . . . . .	1,181	11	4
Other Officers . . . . .	4,357	3	6



	£	s.	d.
Court of Queen's Bench . . . . .	28,309	19	4
Court of Common Pleas . . . . .	22,674	19	5
Court of Exchequer . . . . .	30,882	1	6
Miscellaneous . . . . .	29,612	13	11
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	£143,991	9	6
32 Assistant-Barristers for Counties . . . . .	£16,322	0	9
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## MISCELLANEOUS DISBURSEMENTS, NO. I.

To pay interest and sinking fund on Russian Loan			
raised in Holland . . . . .	89,958	8	4
To pay interest and sinking fund on Greek loan	47,541	8	8
Barracks in Regent's Park . . . . .	5,400	0	0
In support of Greenwich Hospital . . . . .	20,000	0	0
Compensation to sundry persons for loss of duties			
on coinage of Tin . . . . .	16,683	15	0
Turnpike roads in South Wales . . . . .	987	9	3
Merchant-Seamen's fund, expenses . . . . .	10,000	0	0
Erection of piers and improvements of harbours in			
Ireland . . . . .	3,700	0	0
County Infirmaries in ditto . . . . .	3,251	16	11
Buildings at Maynooth in ditto . . . . .	130	10	0
Compensation to Barristers for registering votes in			
ditto . . . . .	2,640	15	0
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	£200,294	3	2
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## POLICE FORCES IN IRELAND.

Irish Constabulary Police . . . . .	560,125	19	1
Ditto Revenue Police . . . . .	44,219	1	2½
Ditto Dublin Police . . . . .	39,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£643,345	0	3½
	<hr/>		

## EXPENSES OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Bounty on slaves and tonnage on slave vessels . . . . .	84,761	19	10
Salaries and expenses of the Commissioners for			
the suppression of the Slave trade . . . . .	15,150	0	0
Support of captured Negroes . . . . .	46,484	7	3
	<hr/>		
	£146,396	7	1
	<hr/>		

	£	s.	d.
Civil contingencies . . . . .	91,000	0	0
Secret service money . . . . .	30,007	12	0
	<u>£121,007</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>

Public Works and Buildings in the United Kingdom . . . . .	<u>£501,744</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
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## SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF THE PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

## Salaries and expenses of the two Houses of

Parliament . . . . .	85,590	5	4
Treasury . . . . .	52,080	5	7
Home Office . . . . .	26,587	3	11
Foreign Office . . . . .	66,541	2	2
Colonial Office . . . . .	35,882	1	7
Council Office . . . . .	46,011	5	11
Salary of Lord Privy Seal . . . . .	1,500	0	0
Charge of Paymaster General's Office. . . . .	23,600	0	0
Salaries, &c., Exchequer . . . . .	6,165	11	10
Ditto State Paper Office . . . . .	2,619	17	2
Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Office . . . . .	3,600	0	0
Commissioners of Poor Laws . . . . .	220,951	11	7
Mint Expenses . . . . .	77,694	0	0
Railway Department . . . . .	7,246	0	0
Office of Public Records . . . . .	11,534	9	8
Inspector of Factories . . . . .	13,094	0	0
Salaries of certain Officers in Scotland . . . . .	1,629	12	4
Household of the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland . . . . .	6,424	7	6
Salaries of the Chief and Under Secretaries' Office in Ireland . . . . .	23,525	12	2
Paymaster of Civil Services in ditto . . . . .	6,080	2	11
Commissioners of Public Works in ditto . . . . .	32,786	0	0
Printing and Stationery for the Public Departments . . . . .	125,313	9	1
General Board of Health . . . . .	10,058	14	6
Central Board of Health, Ireland. . . . .	566	14	0
Law Charges, England . . . . .	9,000	0	0
Law Charges in Scotland. . . . .	90,086	10	8
Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland . . . . .	50,331	0	9

	£	s.	d.
Mint Prosecutions . . . . .	7,555	0	0
Expenses of the Court of Exchequer . . . . .	12,204	19	11
Insolvent Debtors Court . . . . .	8,750	0	0
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	£1,064,929	18	7

In aid of County Rates in England and Wales, and for expenses of Prosecution . . . . .	£246,083	13	5
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## PRISON AND CONVICT SERVICES.

General Superintendence . . . . .	14,823	2	7
Prisons and Convict Establishments at home . . . . .	22,735	10	3
Maintenance of Prisoners in County Gaols and Bethlem Hospital . . . . .	139,098	8	6
Expenses of Transportation . . . . .	117,519	18	8
Convict Establishments in the Colonies . . . . .	110,576	19	3
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	£644,753	19	3
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Education, Science, and Art . . . . .	£464,164	5	4

## CHARGES PAID FOR THE COLONIES.

Clergy in North America . . . . .	6,310	0	0
Salaries to Governors in the West Indies . . . . .	16,528	0	0
Ditto to Magistrates in ditto . . . . .	31,000	0	0
Colonial Land and Emigration Boards . . . . .	17,179	16	0
Lighthouses abroad . . . . .	20,662	15	8
Indian Department, Canada . . . . .	5,184	3	0
Civil Department, Heligoland . . . . .	1,423	0	0
Ditto      Bahamas . . . . .	1,910	0	0
Ditto      Prince Edward's Island . . . . .	1,500	0	0
Ditto      Bermudas . . . . .	4,561	0	0
Ditto      Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Gold Coast . . . . .	16,580	0	0
Ditto      St. Helena . . . . .	7,370	8	11
Ditto      Falkland Islands . . . . .	8,500	0	0
Ditto      Port Essington . . . . .	1,103	0	0
Ditto      Labuan . . . . .	3,914	0	0
Ditto      Hong Kong, and Consuls in China . . . . .	24,984	19	8

	£	s.	d.
Civil Government, New Zealand . . . . .	52,030	0	0
Ditto Western Australia . . . . .	9,499	4	2
For Militia and Volunteers in Canada . . . . .	25	1	5
For Cholera expenses in Jamaica . . . . .	1,999	12	10
	<u>£232,265</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>

Superannuations, Retired Allowances, and Gratuities for charitable and other purposes	<u>£199,483</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>11</u>
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## SPECIAL AND TEMPORARY OBJECTS.

Extraordinary expenses of Ministers at Foreign Courts . . . . .	19,800	0	0
Public Works, Isle of Man . . . . .	2,550	0	0
Ambassador's House at Constantinople . . . . .	1,192	8	0
Encumbered Estates' Commission, Ireland . . . . .	11,344	15	11
Cuffe-street Savings' Bank . . . . .	14,000	0	0
Medals for Army and Navy, for services from 1793 to 1814 . . . . .	10,507	12	6
Expenses of taking the Census of the Population	130,000	0	0
Ditto for the Commissioners for building additional Churches . . . . .	3,000	0	0
	<u>£192,394</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>

Salaries to Consuls abroad . . . . .	<u>£147,369</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>
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Money paid to the Bank of England to supply deficiencies on the Balance reserved for unclaimed Dividends . . . . .	<u>£23,114</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>
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## PAYMENTS

MADE OUT OF THE INCOME IN ITS PROGRESS TO THE EXCHEQUER, AND OVER  
WHICH PARLIAMENT EXERCISES NO CONTROL.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

	£	s.	d.
Charges for collecting the Customs . . . . .	761,092	17	11
Harbour Vessels . . . . .	2,692	10	1
Cruisers . . . . .	48,844	3	1
Preventive Water Guard . . . . .	265,372	17	8
Land Guard . . . . .	1,716	4	4
	<hr/>		
	£1,079,718	13	1
Charges for collecting the Excise . . . . .	690,673	14	10
Revenue Police . . . . .	7,439	10	0
Charges of collecting the Stamps . . . . .	128,676	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto the Land, Assessed, and Income and Pro- perty tax . . . . .	308,563	5	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Post-office Expenditure . . . . .	1,110,090	18	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Poundage on certain Pensions . . . . .	86	7	10
	<hr/>		
	£2,245,529	16	4 $\frac{3}{4}$

## IRELAND.

Charges of collecting the Customs . . . . .	97,610	6	2
Harbour Vessels . . . . .	792	1	8
Cruisers . . . . .	9,291	5	5
Preventive Water Guard . . . . .	103,344	2	8
Charges of collecting the Excise . . . . .	107,143	9	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto the Stamps . . . . .	16,093	3	5
Post-office Expenditure . . . . .	183,327	12	1
	<hr/>		
	£517,602	0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$

## QUARANTINE AND WAREHOUSE EXPENSES.

Warehousing Department . . . . .	121,314	18	4
For keeping accounts of the Trade and Navigation	8,074	11	4
In the execution of the Merchant Seamen's Act	915	17	9
Quarantine Expenses . . . . .	3,747	7	1
	<hr/>		
	£134,052	14	6

## CROWN LANDS EXPENSES.

	£	s.	d.
Salaries and Allowances in the office of Woods	31,370	15	11
Per Centage and Allowance to Receivers of the Land Revenue . . . . .	6,846	5	1
Incidental Expenses and Disbursements . . . . .	4,203	14	5
Superannuations and retiring Allowances . . . . .	5,262	12	4
Allowances upon the abolition of offices . . . . .	1,712	10	0
Ancient Pensions and Payments to Schools . . . . .	10,803	3	6
Salaries and Allowances . . . . .	5,055	0	9
Compensation upon the abolition of offices . . . . .	222	0	2
Payments for investigating and defending rights	29,811	11	3
Ditto for repairs and maintenance of Buildings . . . . .	56,507	6	7
Treasury and other office fees . . . . .	753	18	4
	<hr/> £152,550 18 4 <hr/>		

## MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES, NO. 2.

Expenses of the Herring Fishery Board . . . . .	15,000	0	0
Trinity Light and Pilotage Dues . . . . .	37,450	8	0
Compensation Allowances to Irish Offices . . . . .	49,297	15	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Augmentation of Stipends to Scotch Clergy . . . . .	16,955	7	8
Commissioners of Roads . . . . .	5,437	12	6
In support of the Civil Government, Scotland . . . . .	134,129	0	6
Population Return, Scotland . . . . .	26,219	4	8
Corn Return, &c. . . . .	647	17	1
Salaries to Inspectors of Corn Returns . . . . .	4,568	2	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Expenses of Clothing on removal of Convicts . . . . .	3,358	10	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Salaries to Process Servers . . . . .	9,293	14	6
Expenses under the Militia Act . . . . .	13	10	0
Payments ditto . . . . .	44	15	0
	<hr/> £302,415 19 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ <hr/>		

## PENSIONS.

Duke of Grafton . . . . .	10,599	2	0
Earl Cowper . . . . .	1,595	16	0
Late Charles Boone's Assignees . . . . .	1,200	0	0
Duke of Marlborough . . . . .	4,000	0	0
Heirs of Duke Schomberg . . . . .	2,900	0	0
	<hr/> £20,294 18 0 <hr/>		

## RECAPITULATION.

	£	s.	d.
War Expenditure for Past Wars . . .	28,017,127	5	8
Present Establishments, Naval and Military	14,873,857	6	3
Royalty—the Civil List and Pensions . . .	397,730	0	0
Ditto —Annuities to the Royal Family . . .	171,000	0	0
Ditto —Pensions to Servants . . . . .	101,592	17	7
Pensions for Naval and Military services . . .	32,500	0	0
Ditto for Civil Service . . . . .	41,539	17	4
Ditto for Judicial ditto . . . . .	27,578	6	1
Ditto for Undefined ditto . . . . .	25,954	8	3
Salaries and Allowances . . . . .	251,702	6	10
Salaries and Pensions of the Diplomatic Corps	152,798	7	7
Ditto to Officers of Courts of Justice in Great Britain . . . . .	105,309	7	6
Ditto and Compensations to ditto . . . . .	112,730	18	9
Revising Barristers . . . . .	17,850	0	0
London Police Establishment . . . . .	133,897	9	11
Salaries to Officers of Courts of Justice, Ireland	143,991	9	6
Assistant-Barristers, Ireland . . . . .	16,322	0	9
Miscellaneous Disbursements, No. 1 . . . . .	200,294	3	2
Police Forces in Ireland . . . . .	643,335	0	3½
Suppression of the Slave Trade . . . . .	146,396	7	1
Civil Contingencies . . . . .	121,007	12	0
Public Works and Buildings . . . . .	501,744	9	3
Salaries and Expenses of the Public Department . . . . .	1,064,929	18	7
County Rates . . . . .	246,083	13	5
Prison and Convict Services . . . . .	644,753	19	3
Education, Science, and Art . . . . .	464,164	5	4
Colonial Expenses . . . . .	232,265	1	8
Superannuation Allowances . . . . .	199,483	17	11
Special and Temporary objects . . . . .	192,394	16	5
Consuls abroad . . . . .	147,369	18	2
Bank of England . . . . .	23,114	8	3
Customs, Great Britain . . . . .	1,079,718	13	1
Excise, &c., ditto . . . . .	2,245,529	16	4¾
Customs, &c., Ireland . . . . .	517,602	0	7¼

	£	s.	d.
Quarantine, &c. . . . .	134,052	14	6
Crown Lands . . . . .	152,550	18	4
Miscellaneous, No. 2 . . . . .	302,415	19	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Pensions . . . . .	20,294	18	0
Actual Expenditure . . . . .	£53,902,994	12	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Surplus as stated in Finance Accounts . . . . .	2,831,715	17	8 $\frac{3}{8}$
Add Error in account of 1850, No. 63, of present Finance Account, page 83 . . . . .	100,000	0	0
	£56,834,710	10	5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total surplus as above, £2,931,715 17s. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ d.

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NOTE.—It will be seen that the actual surplus for the year ended 5th January, 1852, is £2,931,715 17 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ d., being £100,000 more than the surplus stated in the Finance Accounts, the error arising from a wrong summation in Account 63, page 83, as above stated, the entire expenditure of the Government being thereby inflated by that amount. The expenditure, as stated in the account, was £54,002,994 12s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., while it was, in fact, only £53,902,994 12s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.\*

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\* Furnished by the "Elements of Taxation."



## APPENDIX III.

AN Account of the Gross Receipt and Net Produce of the Revenue of Customs in the United Kingdom in the year ended 5th January, 1852, showing the amount collected on each article usually contributing £1000 or more to the Revenue of the United Kingdom.

## LIST OF ARTICLES.

## DUTIES INWARDS.

	£	s.	d.
Almonds (not bitter) . . . . .	6,844	9	0
Apples, Raw . . . . .	10,893	18	1
Baskets . . . . .	3,594	19	8
Beer, Spruce . . . . .	4,662	0	9
Books . . . . .	9,097	2	3
Boots, Shoes, and Calashes . . . . .	3,335	2	2
Boot Fronts . . . . .	5,058	17	3
Butter . . . . .	166,780	10	1
Capers . . . . .	2,896	18	8
Cassia Lignea . . . . .	1,073	6	0
Cheese . . . . .	83,241	10	8
Chicory, or any other Vegetable Matter applicable to the uses of Chicory or Coffee . . . . .	2,487	4	5
China, Porcelain, and Earthenware . . . . .	3,990	15	4
Clocks . . . . .	7,680	19	1
Cloves . . . . .	3,026	1	0
Cocoa, Cocoa Husks and Shells, and Chocolate . . . . .	18,912	6	6
Coffee . . . . .	444,670	0	0
Coir Rope, Twine, and Strands . . . . .	2,795	19	7
Copper Ore and Regulus . . . . .	2,081	16	1
Corks ready made . . . . .	5,760	0	11

	£	s.	d.
Corn, Meal, and Flour . . . . .	504,921	4	4
Cotton Manufactures, wholly or in part made up . . . . .	2,074	16	5
Currants . . . . .	357,851	13	1
Eggs . . . . .	42,112	0	10
Embroidery and Needlework . . . . .	10,859	2	9
Figs . . . . .	25,040	6	7
Fish, Anchovies . . . . .	1,577	18	3
Ditto of all other sorts . . . . .	1,842	5	6
Flowers, Artificial . . . . .	16,175	0	11
Ginger, dry . . . . .	5,534	5	10
Ditto, preserved . . . . .	2,861	13	0
Glass Bottles, covered with Wicker, or of Green or Common Glass . . . . .	1,540	7	5
Glass, of all other sorts . . . . .	9,435	2	4
Gloves, of Leather . . . . .	42,350	10	2
Grapes . . . . .	1,914	13	10
Hair, or Goats' Wool, Manufactures of . . . . .	2,199	1	7
Hams . . . . .	1,936	18	3
Hats, or Bonnets, of Straw . . . . .	2,384	18	11
Honey . . . . .	1,107	5	2
Hops . . . . .	212	10	1
Iron and Steel, wrought . . . . .	2,770	10	3
Lace, Thread . . . . .	1,874	17	7
Ditto, made by the hand, commonly called Cushion or Pillow Lace, whether of Cotton, Silken, or Linen Thread . . . . .	5,922	8	2
Linens . . . . .	4,321	8	9
Liquorice Juice and Paste . . . . .	9,998	13	10
Mace . . . . .	2,847	12	8
Mats and Mattings . . . . .	1,717	6	0
Musical Instruments . . . . .	5,264	10	1
Nutmegs . . . . .	21,855	1	10
Nuts, Small Nuts . . . . .	18,508	8	0
Ditto, Walnuts . . . . .	4,716	0	1
Oil, Chemical, Essential and Perfumed of all sorts . . . . .	12,372	7	6
Onions . . . . .	2,541	9	0
Opium . . . . .	2,623	7	1

	£	s.	d.
Oranges and Lemons . . . . .	81,086	12	1
Paper, printed, painted, or stained, Paper Hangings or Flock Paper . . . . .	2,923	8	4
Paper of other sorts . . . . .	1,702	7	8
Paper of the Manufacture of the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands . . . . .	1,064	18	6
Pears, raw . . . . .	2,128	0	4
Pepper . . . . .	86,670	2	8
Pictures . . . . .	3,067	3	0
Pimento . . . . .	1,031	13	3
Plate, Gold and Silver . . . . .	1,698	18	1
Plums, Dried or Preserved, French Plums and Prunelloes . . . . .	4,378	15	10
Potato Flour . . . . .	1,124	12	5
Poultry, Alive or Dead . . . . .	1,654	9	10
Prints and Drawings . . . . .	1,957	0	1
Prunes . . . . .	9,270	14	1
Raisins . . . . .	163,912	11	6
Rice . . . . .	10,951	16	9
Ditto in the husk . . . . .	1,348	19	1
Sago . . . . .	1,996	15	1
Seeds, Clover . . . . .	41,007	17	6
Silk Manufactures . . . . .	213,709	10	10
Smalts . . . . .	629	8	0
Soap . . . . .	1,100	13	7
Spirits, Colonial and Foreign :—			
Rum . . . . .	1,097,920	13	4
Brandy . . . . .	1,393,862	3	0
Geneva . . . . .	19,772	1	9
Of other sorts . . . . .	13,235	1	2
Spirits of the Manufacture of the Channel Islands . . . . .	461	17	10
Succades and Confectionery, including all Fruits and Vegetables preserved in Sugar . . . . .	3,955	1	3
Sugar, unrefined . . . . .	3,637,061	10	4
Ditto, refined, and Sugar Candy . . . . .	346,542	14	5
Ditto, Molasses . . . . .	175,435	13	9
Tallow . . . . .	67,839	16	0
Tea . . . . .	5,900,624	13	7

	£	s.	d.
Tin . . . . .	11,238	19	9
Tobacco and Snuff . . . . .	4,466,468	19	4
Toys . . . . .	4,971	4	0
Vermicelli and Maccaroni. . . . .	2,024	17	9
Vinegar . . . . .	1,221	0	9
Watches . . . . .	10,684	13	3
Water, Cologne, in Flasks . . . . .	1,388	9	1
Wine . . . . .	1,776,246	13	0
Wood and Timber :—			
Firewood . . . . .	6,043	8	8
Lathwood . . . . .	7,347	7	5
Spars or Poles . . . . .	1,641	11	11
Deals, Battens, &c., sawn or split . . . . .	308,474	6	11
Timber not sawn or split, or otherwise dressed	198,365	5	0
Woollen Manufactures, wholly or in part made up	9,629	8	11
Yarn, Worsted, dyed or coloured, or fit for em- broidery, or other fancy purposes . . . . .	3,213	3	10
All other Articles imported . . . . .	99,696	12	10
Duties Inwards . . . . .	£22,120,533	10	11
Duties collected at the Isle of Man . . . . .	26,245	4	9
Rent of Legal Quays, Warehouse Rent, &c. . . . .	30,285	15	3
Proceeds of Goods sold for the Duties, &c. . . . .	2,605	16	9
Received from the Corporation of Manchester, in repayment of the Expenses of the Customs Establishment of that place, for the year ended 10th October, 1850 . . . . .	2,722	11	4
Proceeds of Surcharges, Sale of Old Stores, &c. . . . .	14,682	3	2
Total (including outstanding Balances) . . . . .	£22,197,075	2	2



An Account of the Gross Receipt and Net Produce of the Revenue of Excise in the United Kingdom, in the year ended 5th January, 1852.

## ARTICLES.

	£	s.	d.
Game Certificates . . . . .	9,298	16	0
Hackney Carriages . . . . .	68,032	10	0
Hops . . . . .	426,028	4	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Licenses . . . . .	1,160,570	13	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Malt . . . . .	5,035,559	17	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paper . . . . .	928,876	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Post Horses . . . . .	145,432	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Railways . . . . .	287,331	11	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Stage Carriages . . . . .	217,052	2	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Soap . . . . .	1,043,026	16	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Spirits . . . . .	6,030,323	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sugar (Home-made) . . . . .	3	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto used in Brewing . . . . .	153	2	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
	£15,371,690	1	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *

\* "Elements of Taxation."

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